



A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

*DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.*

---

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

---

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

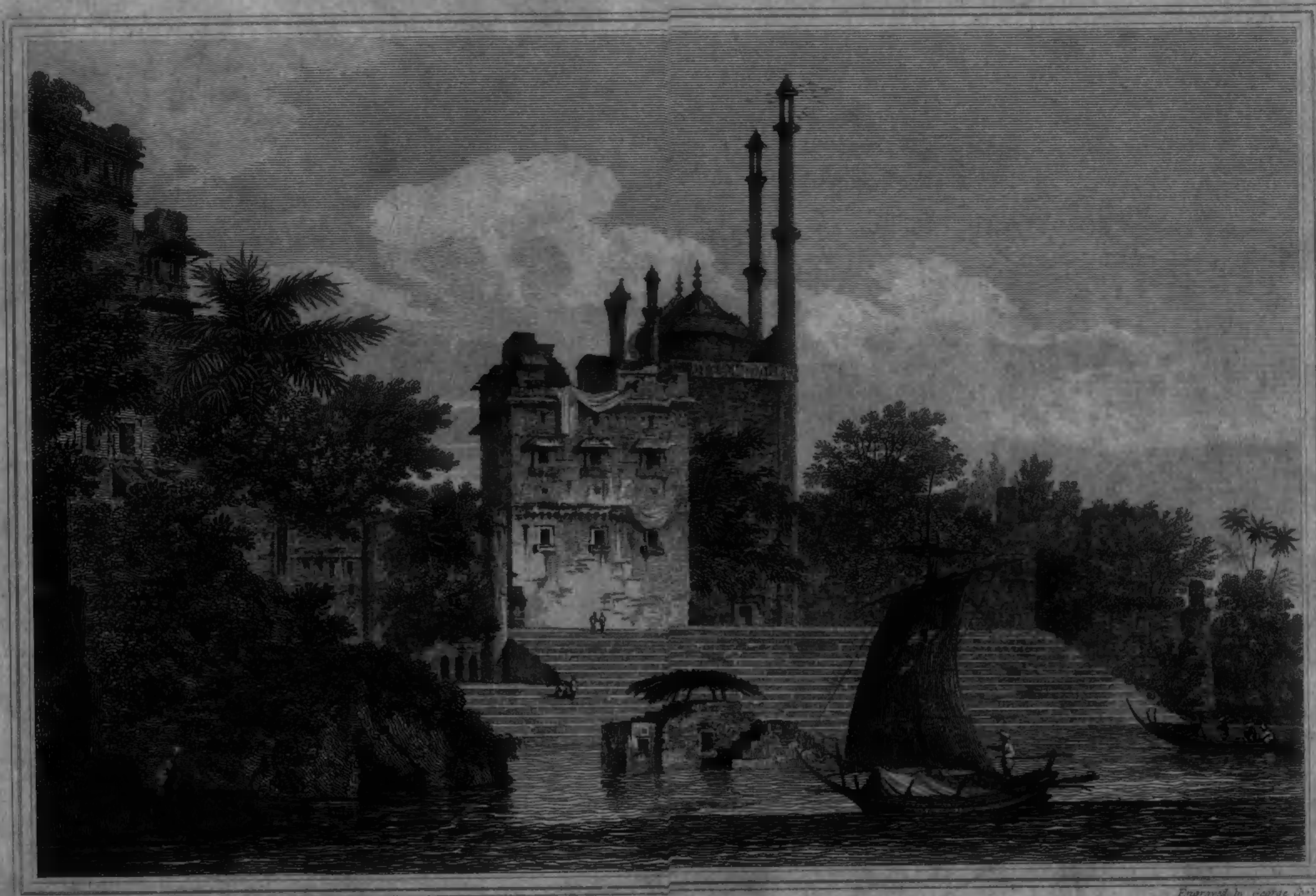
---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;  
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1811.





From Benares.

Engraved by George Cooke.

*Part of the City of Benares.*

London: Published by W. Chapman & Co. Strand, near the Theatre Royal, 1810.





A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

*DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.*

---

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

---

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;  
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1811.



**Strahan and Preston,**  
**Printers-Street, London.**



A  
GENERAL COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

---

A S I A.

---

EXTRACTS  
FROM  
THE TRAVELS OF PIETRO DELLE VALLE,  
IN PERSIA.

---

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I HAD flattered myself that Mr. Schipano, a very learned man, and my particular friend, would have taken the trouble of adjusting the collection of letters he had received from me at different places, in which I gave him a sketch of the particulars of my travels; he having promised to digest my crude accounts into a connected and historical shape, so as to form a perfect book of them. Had he had leisure to dilate on them as they required, and put them in regular order, they would have afforded a much more finished production, in point of elegance and instruction, than from under my hands.

That this did not take place, I impute rather to the numerous occupations of my friend than any coolness towards me; and possibly the excessive abundance of matter with which my long letters were furcharged, tended to prevent his reduction of them into any proportionate body. On myself, therefore, has devolved the care of hindering my extensive travels from going without the reward more honourable than interested, of meeting the public eye, and of preventing the world itself from being deprived of the profit and pleasure deducible from them.

The mere recital made by me publicly in the Academy of Humorists at Rome, shortly after my return from the Levant, was insufficient to satisfy either myself or those who



read it ; feeling that however just my description of the matter I detailed, I could in a discourse of no more than a few hours, but slightly and imperfectly expatiate on the substance. Much have I desired to see these relations in a more perfect form, and more regularly disposed in respect to the various matter, that they might so be better adapted to the instruction of the studious ; this, however, to me would have been a labour as tedious as difficult, on which account, to save toil, as advised by my friends, I have resolved on presenting them to the public in the same shape of epistolary detail in which they were communicated to Mr. Schipano at Naples ; and, notwithstanding I had neither the patience or inclination on the spots whence I wrote to take copies of them, I have had the good fortune of finding the whole of my letters complete, not one having been lost that I had addressed to my friend, who had favoured a number of persons of honour with copies of them, both at Naples and Rome, solicitous of them after hearing them read as amusing and gratifying to curiosity.

Either I am deceived, or they are now given much ameliorated and more correct than in the original, as I have been studious of amending every fault of language or orthography with which they were replete ; of retrenching in many places light and frivolous circumstances relative individually to myself, which I had candidly and frankly related to a confidential friend, but without intention of publishing to the world.

In lieu of these frivolities retrenched I have substituted matter essential to the subjects, either omitted in hurry or superficially treated, with intention of amplifying upon them at leisure on some future occasion. My friends have generally conceived, in unison with me, that this form of letters is best calculated to please the reader, as much from its novelty (the familiar style being rather unusual for historical matter) as from the frankness and candour natural to the character of epistles ingenuously conceived and void of deceit. In them will be discerned that naked and simple truth, which in writing I have ever been anxious to display.

Of this description do I present them to the reader ; and should they prove acceptable, my gratification will not be trifling ; yet if the reverse be the case, he will possibly excuse the weakness of an author who has done his best. If not wholly ungracious, he will have some respect for my intention of studying as much as possible to attain perfection. I have further to add, that in composing these letters I have not sought a pure, choice, and elegant Tuscan style, such as might serve as a model for other writers, or an authority to be consulted as a specimen of the manner of the most excellent orators and historians ; on the contrary, I have composed them in my paternal tongue, the Roman, and the ordinary dialect, without the affectation of piquing myself on the delicacy of the style, conceiving I effect enough in giving them that polite and ingenuous turn which is sought in familiar correspondence. If, however, the terms and style should fail to please my reader ; if he should fail of discovering that depth of erudition he may require, let him reflect that my condition of life, my profession exact of me as a duty to be more delicate of doing well than of relating things with nicety. And in case I should be so unfortunate as to produce in these letters nothing which may accord with his fancy, let him consider at least, that in writing them I had no object of framing a source of entertainment for him, but merely of gratifying by their perusal, a friend who would receive them with delight. Now, therefore, on presenting them to the public, it is not to one particular place alone, not to the present generation that I give them, but to all the world, and to successive ages : so that if any thing should be distasteful according to the judgment of the public in one quarter, let it in compassion reflect, that in other countries it may be graciously received by other persons, and in other times.



I claim excuse rather than condemnation for having studied to satisfy the taste of different parties, not only in the present but in future ages, for not having confined myself to one corner of the globe, such as Naples or Italy, and for being desirous of shewing myself to the world, the chief parts of which, by my long travels, have become sufficiently familiar to me to justify my assumption of the title of a citizen of the world, as such to its various nations I wish my life and actions to be known.

## LETTER I.

*Constantinople, 23d Aug. 1614.*

**I** DO not merely imagine, I feel certain, that it will gratify you to hear from me at this place, and see me fulfil with pleasure what I consider a duty — imparting a description of my voyage. I shall not repeat the account of my journey from Rome to Naples, and shipment thence to Venice, but proceed to tell you, that on the 8th of June I departed early in the morning from Malamoco, in the *Grand Dauphin*, a Venetian galleon, mounting forty-five guns, and well provided.

On board we had, among five hundred persons, a strange medley, both male and female, consisting of soldiers, sailors, merchants and travellers, of various religions; Catholics, heretics of different sects, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Persians, Jews, Italians of different provinces, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, English, Germans, Flemings and others. The singularity of the assemblage would have made it more agreeable, had it not been for the inconvenience arising from so great a number compressed in such little space.

An infectious disorder was the result, and of twenty or thirty which were daily afflicted, Death failed not of his tythe. Among the number taken off were two travellers of distinction; fortunately neither my servants or myself had occasion for the remedies of the miserable barber-surgeon on board; a man whose appearance was so little prepossessing, that I should have been loth to have suffered him to feel my pulse even in perfect health, lest I should receive a distemper. Before we could hoist sails, in order to clear several shoals, we were towed for an hour by twenty-three barks of eight oars, as large as feluccas, each commanded by a good-looking man, lightly clad, with so much skill and such cheerful and accordant notes, as much delighted me.

At length the sails were set, the sea perfectly calm, but the wind so adverse as to oblige us to traverse frequently the whole breadth of the Adriatic; so often indeed, that we passed backwards and forwards from the shores of Italy to those of Slavonia, at least five-and-twenty times, ere we reached the narrow mouth of this sea, coasting occasionally on either side. I tenderly saluted, in passing the shores of the kingdom of Naples, mindful of the friends it contained. When clear of the gulph, we got on with more ease, having wider sea-room, the wind yet continuing adverse.

On losing sight of Italy, the first land we discovered was the mountains of *Chimæra*, anciently called *Ciraunian*.

*Unde iter Italiam, cursus brevissimus undis.*

*ÆN. lib. iii. 507.*

We laid for several hours at the foot of these mountains, which, from my affection for the poet who describes them, I regarded with delight; thence we coasted the shores of Epirus, where I noticed before we arrived at Corfu, the port of Chaonia and the town of



of Butrinto, which still retains the very ancient name, a little disfigured by the corruption of language. The sight of it brought to my memory the tears and lamentations of Andromache, and the honors paid by her to the manes of her husband :

*Ante urbem, in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam.*

*ÆN. lib. iii. 302.*

I saw this river, and viewed with pleasure those spots, anciently the abode of the allies of the Trojans. While gratified with the imagery which the scene before me raised in my mind, our vessel arrived at the port of Corfu; about which the Venetians, on rocks which frown defiance, have constructed some very strong fortresses.

We entered the port on the eve of the festival of St. John, a day of great rejoicing at Naples, but different then with us; a furious wind arising just after our entering the port, which drove us from our anchors, and but for the skill of the mariners, would have thrown us on the breakers; they saved us, but the sea all day continued to run so high, that I was unable to go on shore till the next. Then I had an opportunity of visiting the town, which is small, and has little to recommend it; the country about it, however, is beautiful.

We remained here four days, on each of which I went on shore to observe whatever was curious, treated always with much kindness by Signior Fabio Aronio, an officer there, and a countryman of ours, sleeping at night on board. The only thing I found remarkable was the fortress, defended by nature more than art, and impregnable. Here the body of St. Spiridim is preserved so perfectly, that although he lived in the time of the first council, his flesh appears yet lively and fresh, that of his leg when touched, rising again from the pressure. Here also lives a man reputedly of the race of Judas; whether this be true or false (it is denied by himself) I know not; I however, remember a servant of ours who had resided at Corfu, affirming that some of his race still existed there, and that a house was pointed out as one which he inhabited.

Corfu was an unlucky port for us; just after raising anchor we were encountered by a hurricane, and dropping a sail, several sailors were injured; upon this occasion we again ran great risk of being driven on shore, but were rescued by the people of a galley who saw our danger; and, on the same day, from the negligence of a Jewess, part of the rigging caught fire; our people were prompt at extinguishing it, or we might, in midst of water have been a prey to the flames. Hence we proceeded towards Zante the more pleasantly, from our having landed one hundred and fifty soldiers at Corfu, together with several merchants, which left us more room. On this course I saw the Venetian cruizers, the spot on which a great naval battle had been fought, and had opportunity of noticing Leucate, Nerito, Samos, the rocks of Ithaca, and the two Cephalonizæ, called by Virgil the Laertian kingdom; I did not however see Dulichium, which with Samos, possibly formed a part of its domains; neither did I meet with elucidation on the subject of that Apollo, dreaded by mariners.

At one after midnight we anchored in the port of Zante; where I landed early in the morning. Zante no longer deserves the title of the woody. The island possesses no more any forests; its soil is unrequiting and barren, and the town of a similar name is rather long, forms a kind of amphitheatre towards the sea, and is commanded by high hills at the back, much resembling those which surround Messina; its buildings however, like those of Corfu, bear more similitude to huts than houses; I did not go to examine the fortress, it being situated at a great elevation, and possessing nothing to recom-

\* — In shades, beside ~~no~~ real Simois's waves  
Fronting the town.



mend it to notice. Seventeen Venetian gallies weighed anchor before us ; and here we received news of the Turkish fleet laying at Navarin in the neighbourhood, and that the Neapolitan gallies had shortly before left that port.

From Zante, where we remained four days, we bent our course to Scio, where we arrived by six in the evening. On the way, the first object I saw was the Strophades, no more the habitation of the harpies, but of forty or fifty monks, called Caloyers, who profess the Greek faith, and live an innocent and happy life, sequestered from the world. Their monastery built in the largest of the islets, of which I only saw the exterior, is handsome ; and wears the appearance of a strong citadel to intimidate pirates. These good monks are benignant and kind to an extreme, making a practice of sending out a boat with provisions to every vessel that passes. To us they brought out vegetables and fruit, which we thought the more delicious from the engaging and affectionate manner in which they were tendered. According to them, these islands are very fertile, and repay abundantly the diligence and care used in their cultivation, yielding every delicacy peculiar to the climate. They informed me also, that they have an excellent cool spring, which with certainty they have ascertained proceeds under the bed of the sea from the Morea, not sixty miles distant, articles being thrown up by it which could come from no other quarter. On taking leave, we presented them some tokens of our gratitude, and quitting the Strophades on our right, we pursued our course towards the Morea, coasting that part of it inhabited by a fierce and warlike nation, called now the Magorates. This is a free people, notwithstanding it be partially subject to the Turks, and is frequently at war with them ; retaining much of the spirit of its ancient inhabitants. I remarked in this country the sites of many of its ancient cities. Sparta, which is now but an insignificant little town ; Argos, and Mycene, which still exist, but greatly diminished of their former splendor ; and the island Cytherea, or Cerigo, consecrated to Venus, and celebrated in the numerous fables related of that goddess. We passed through the narrow channel which separates this island from the continent, and being obliged to traverse frequently, owing to contrary wind, it afforded me the means of observing a number of islands and curious places, such as Milo, Antimilo, Falconera, so called from the number of falcons with which it abounds, Perrapello, Maurocaravi, Hydra, so denominated from seven large rocks which surround it, St. Giorgio del'albero, Egine, Zia, Andro, and farther beyond these, Thino, Micone, and Delos, sacred to Apollo. On the left, on *terra firma*, after passing the gulf of Corinth, at the extremity of which is situated Parnassus, we left Napoli di Romagna, and the illustrious city of Athens, which I beheld at a distance from the deck ; and thirty miles farther the Cape of Columns, so named from a famous building sustained by a number of pillars, possibly a vestige of Athenian architecture, and, from its neighbourhood, presumptively within the dominions of Athens, but which the common people attribute to Alexander.

Still farther on we coasted along the island of Negropont, separated from the continent by a space of no greater length than a bridge ; and lastly, that of Scio, near which, notwithstanding we were close upon it, we were obliged to remain three days before we could make the port, on account of the unsteadiness of the wind, which constantly veered, and drove us to different parts of the channel which separate it from the continent of Natolia ; at length, we cast anchor in a sheltered situation, but eighteen miles from the town of the same name.

While there, Signior Vincent Justinian, learning that I was on board, came with horses and boats, accompanied by Signior Bernard Grimaldi, to take me to his house. Accordingly, on the 18th of July I landed with them on this island, deservedly called



the delight of the Archipelago, and garden of Greece, as from our landing at a considerable distance from the town I had full room to observe. We travelled during the whole day through fields producing the mastic-tree, about which the country people had already cleared the ground for gathering the gum, and in some places had begun making incisions in the bark for it to exude. This tree is the common lentisk. It is worthy of remark, that one half of the island, that on which this tree grows, is stony and almost barren; and the other half whereon there are no trees of this description, is amazingly productive, yielding delicious grapes, trees which afford excellent shade, and abounding altogether in charms. One district in particular excels in beauty the whole; this furnishes a wine of exquisite flavour, called Homer's wine, from the spot of its growth being deemed either the birth, or burial-place of that poet.

We journied along at our leisure, in order the better to notice different spots extremely well populated; and in the evening slept at a very handsome farm-house, called a *tour*, possibly the best in the island. It belongs to the Sultane's-mother, but is hired of her by Signior Justinian, whose son entertained us hospitably through the night. In the morning we departed for the town, crossing the plain, about three or four miles in extent, and covered with similar farms, and a number of the most delightful gardens. I learnt that the inhabitants built these houses as places of refuge from the plague. We entered the town by noon. I took up my abode with M. Dupuy, the French consul, who expected me, and wished to keep me constantly in his house to avoid the danger I might incur from some new edicts, which prohibited any foreigner not belonging to a nation in alliance with the Porte, either entering or travelling in the countries dependent on the Grand Signor. Mindless of these, however, of which I was well aware before I left Italy, I persisted in my design of travelling, trusting to good management for surmounting every danger and difficulty.

I resided nine or ten days at Scio much gratified. The town is large and handsome, that, however, on account of its charming position rather than its buildings. I speak of the suburbs, where all the Christians at present reside, none being permitted even to enter the castle, which is that which, previous to its adoption for a fortress, was the town; the Turks living in continual mistrust, since the period that the Tuscan galleys attempted to take it by surprize. The population of the citadel and suburbs amounts to from twenty to twenty-five thousand souls. The fortress is peopled and guarded by native Turks alone. It is reported to be much more elegant, as well in its streets as buildings, than the lower town. The island is reputed ninety miles in circumference. Though this country be subject to the Infidels, as much tranquillity and freedom exist here as in any place whatsoever; the inhabitants spending their time in singing, dancing, and gallanting the ladies, not only during the day but through the night, as well in the streets till four or five o'clock in the morning; in short, I passed my time here so gaily, that had I remained longer I should have killed myself with excess of pleasure.

Justly does Belon describe the inhabitants of Scio as courteous and obliging; it is impossible to speak too highly of them. Through my friends, and the knowledge I had of their language, I made numerous acquaintance, and had as much familiarity with the ladies as I could desire: they are not only handsome but graceful, although their dress was not to my fancy. It consists for the head-dress of a sort of cap, tastefully worked with green, blue, and red silk intermixed, which covers the chief part of their hair, and most of their forehead, in a manner certainly destructive of the gracefulness of the countenance, and their boddice is so short that the waist is not where nature has marked it, but much higher, scarcely below their bosom, and going under the shoulders, which much disguises the elegance of their shape. Their lightness and agility, however, are conspi-

cuous



cuous enough, not only in their walking but in dancing, in which they make very pleasing steps. Their shoes are pretty, and fancifully made of velvet.

While thus amused, our vessel came round to port. Looking out one evening I saw she was making ready for sail, and that it was requisite for me to hurry on board, which I did, angry with the pilot for depriving me so soon of so much entertainment, in exchange for exposure to the mercy of the waves and contrary winds, which prevailed for a week, in such a degree as to occasion much difficulty in making any good port. During all this time I only saw the island of Egnusi, where we interred one of our crew who died. Continuing our course, we left Lesbos on the right, and Lemnos and Imbros on the left, with Mount Athos, called likewise the holy mountain, in the distance. At length, on Sunday, 3d August, early in the morning we anchored under the island of Tenedos, but far from the city, at the mouth of the channel which separates it from the continent, near to Troy. Finding myself so nigh this famous spot I felt pity powerfully awakened in me, and dispatched my faithful servant Thomas to provide a boat to carry me on shore, that I might see the ruins of that famous Troy,

genus unde Latinum,  
Albanique patres, atque altae mœnia Romæ \*.

ÆN. lib. i. 10.

After my man had departed, our large vessel was enabled to get nearer to the place; and the next day I embarked in the forenoon on board an eight-oared boat, steered by a Turk, with a crew of Greeks, together with Thomas and Lawrence, two servants I brought with me from Italy. I then took my leave of my companions on board the galleon, for company's sake taking with me three Caloyers my friends, a Franciscan monk of Constantinople, and a French merchant, with his servant, each desirous as well as myself of beholding the remains of the much celebrated Troy. I had the precaution, however, to leave on board the good Tumisk, hermit Brother André, to take care of my baggage to Constantinople. He had already travelled several times to Jerusalem, and intending to go thither again was presented to me by Cardinal Crescentio at Priësi, in whose diocese he dwelt, as one who might be useful to me as a faithful and expert companion on my voyage. We reached the shore in less than an hour, which I kissed with reverence and affection, mindful of our ancestors who came thence, and collected some small pieces of these ancient ruins, which I still preserve. I traversed the country with pleasure, and found objects worthy of remark in greater abundance than I suspected, from the number of modern works constructed on the ruins of the old.

Ardently curious as I was, I slighted the caution given me by those who talked of the assemblage of banditti in these unfrequented spots, and travelled for a couple of leagues in hopes of meeting with somewhat curious. Troy from my observations was built on the sea-shore opposite to Tenedos, precisely as described by Virgil, between two capes, the one now called Cape St. Mary, the other nearer to Constantinople, the Cape of the Janissaries, which was formerly the port of Sigæum. These capes form the extremity of the country, called after its ancient name, the Troade. Some miles from it Mount Ida serves as a kind of *epaulement* to the town, and is visible from sea; I recognized it without difficulty at dawn by the words of the poet,

Jamque jugis summæ surgebat Lucifer Idæ  
Ducebatque diem †.

---

\* ——— Whence rose our Latin race  
Albanian fires, and Rome's high towering walls.  
† And now o'er Ida's summit, Lucifer  
Rising lead on the morn.

The country about Troy to the mountains is full of gently sloping eminences of no height ; it is not barren, but abounds in herbs and flowers, particularly wild thyme ; that it produces nothing else, I am satisfied is owing alone to want of culture. No fresh water is to be found for nearly a league from the town, for as to the rivers Hanthus and Simois, I could not discover them near any of the inhabited spots ; their beds are most likely a league distant, as I shall hereafter notice. A little beyond Ida, about two days journey off, is another mountain, called by Belon the Olympus of Phrygia ; it did not, however, appear to me as represented by him, so high as Mount Cenis ; I might, however, be deceived by the distance.

I discovered a mole of ancient construction on the sea-shore, distinguished as such by the pillars round which the cables were fastened to hold ships ; these pillars, which are of marble, owing to the corrosive nature of the sea air and the lapse of time, have entirely lost their polish. This mole served formerly as a rampart to some port or dock, at present nearly filled with sands ; in it a little salt water still lodges and forms a kind of marsh leaving a froth on the circumjacent borders, of which salt is made. I found likewise several traces of columns, of dimensions not inferior to those of the Rotunda at Rome. Near were two columns thrown down, one of them broken was thirty of my feet in length. In different other places I discovered columns laying on the ground, with large pieces of marble of different sorts, and handsome marble tombs, the blocks six inches in thickness, possibly the resting places of the brave warriors who died in defence of Troy. I saw likewise an aqueduct large enough to allow of a man walking erect. This I judged to be rather a sewer than a conduit for pure water, it being pretty deep in the ground, and stretching towards the sea, level with the waves. I noticed another also of similar structure, but of greater size, being large enough to allow of a coach being driven in it, and when I entered its mouth I took it for a bridge ; it was, however, neither a bridge nor an aqueduct ; it is stated to project considerably in land, and may possibly be that subterraneous passage by which Andromache passed, described lib. ii. 458 et seq. of the *Æneid* —

et pervius usus  
 Tectorum inter se Priami, postesque relict  
 A tergo ; infelix qua se, dum regna manebant,  
 Sæpius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat,  
 Ad foceros, et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat\*.

The successive ruins also of numerous large houses, towers, and temples, are still to be seen, among which I recognized some remarks noticed by Belon and others, which I imagine he had not seen, as well as two Latin inscriptions, that I observed minutely, not mentioned by that author, which evidently establish the fact of this city having been rebuilt and repeopled by the Roman Emperors. A mile and a half from this spot I discovered a palace which may be that of Ilium, or, as believed by the inhabitants of the country, of more modern structure. It was, however, certainly some royal palace or fortress, the walls being all of marble, and from 25 to 30 palms in thickness, the porticoes and towers large, and every thing corresponding with the abode of majesty. Belon speaks of the remains of a large tower, which, as he imagined, served for a light

\* ——— and a gallery  
 Between the tents of Priam and the walls  
 By which, while yet the empire stood, oft-times  
 The unfortunate Andromache was wont  
 Without attendants, to rejoin her friends  
 And lead Astyanax to see his fire.



house; I saw one similar, but it appeared to me too far distant from the sea to serve for that purpose, and seemed rather the watch-tower described by Virgil, whence the city of Troy was discernible, as well as the Grecian fleet. I distinguished no more than one of those cisterns built of black stone, so frequently mentioned by Belon; I tasted of the water it contained and found it good and cool. The whole of the ground on which the city stood, if one may judge by its remains, occupied a space of several miles in circumference and must have contained an immense number of inhabitants. At the sight of these ruins, on reflection that the spot bestrewed with them was once covered with magnificent streets and superb palaces; that a frightful solitude now reigns, where the busy hum of men was heard; and that in lieu of gardens and well-tilled fields one sees but a frightful and barren wilderness; the mind is oppressed with melancholy, and contemplates with pain the vanity of human pursuits, the nullity of human grandeur.

Night now was drawing on; and satisfied with what I had seen on this shore we got on board our galley; and with some difficulty, from the wind being in our face, reached the town of Tenedos by two o'clock in the morning, where I slept at the house of a very courteous Greek lady, and in the morning examined the country about, which exactly corresponds with the description given of it by Virgil, save that the town, and its territory, is plentifully inhabited; and that it is a place of trade and great resort for shipping. One thing that appeared to me singular in the island was the dress of the Christian women, which was similar to that of the inhabitants of the Troade, differing from that of the European Greeks, and being reputedly of great antiquity.

I departed in the evening to go to the two castles, but being driven back by contrary wind was detained for two days; when sailing along the shore of the Troade I met a Greek, who pointed out to me between two hills a valley, through which flowed among the herbage a stream, which the inhabitants say is the Xanthus. It is not that river which passes through Lycia but rather the Scamander, for it has its source in Mount Ida, unites with the other stream the Simois, and discharges itself where described into the sea, and is the only one in the whole country. It is called by the people the river of the Troade, as Ida, the mountain of the Troade. I was desirous of seeing its course; but the wind, more resolute than myself, drove me back to Tenedos, where I waited for better weather to the 9th of August, on which day I departed anew, and in about twenty hours I arrived at the Cape of Janissaries, the ancient port of Sigæum, famous for the burial of Hecuba, Queen of Phrygia, according to Julius Solinus, where I landed to observe the ruins of the castle or town, noticed by Belon.

This place at present is inhabited by a few Greeks, dispersed over the mountain, having their dwellings contiguous to the ancient edifices. At the foot of the mountain are some springs of excellent water. After diligently observing every thing worthy of notice I embarked, and the same evening arrived at the spot where the Xanthus, joined by the Simois, disembogues itself. Without having seen I could scarcely have credited these rivers being so small; they are almost wholly dried up in summer, and in winter are not to be recognized again from their abundance of water. According to the relations of the country people, vessels enter the mouth and proceed ten miles up the river; and I myself saw a ship of moderate size, said to have come from anchoring in it. At night we laid to under the land, and in the morning entered the strait which separates Europe from Asia, where there is as strong a tide as at Messina, but differing from that in its regular flux and reflux. We had the tide against us, and found we could make more way by dragging our vessel along the shore than by using our oars, reaching thus by eleven in the forenoon Abydos, the birth-place of the unfortunate Leander. Here I landed, and dined with a Turk, the vice-consul for foreign Franks, who shewed me

great civility. Hence I saw Sestos on the opposite side, which with Abydos, about half a league apart, are known by the denomination of the two castles. Here I dismissed the galley, and in the evening took a boat to transport me to Gallipoli, where I arrived at dawn of day, reposing myself for a short time at the house of a monk of the order of St. Francis, who acted as vice-consul for all the European nations. The monk not being at home, a Greek servant of his received me and prepared me a bed. I slept here till awakened for dinner; after which I walked about the town till dusk, and remained there the whole of the next day, that I might observe it at leisure.

It is a large place, and extremely well peopled; its houses are built low, in the Turkish manner, without any windows looking on the streets, the materials of which they are built being only earth and wood. In the trading-streets, which are numerous, the houses have a number of small windows, like those in the roofs of ours in Italy, to admit light and refreshing air, and extremely requisite in so hot a climate. At Gallipoli I took another boat to reach Constantinople, stopping at various places on the way, as we coasted along the shores of Thrace, to notice any thing worthy remark. We passed by several towns and villages, which we discerned without approaching them as we sailed pleasantly up the channel. The names of these were Aradisa, Miriosito, a small town, and Rodosto, opposite to which we laid to during the night, distinguishing its houses and lights. The other places at which we landed were the city of Peristasi Chora, an archiepiscopal see, where I dined at the palace of the Archbishop of Heracleum. The city comprises ruins of handsome buildings, bearing inscriptions, which I copied; and what appears singular to me, in possession of a Greek Caloyer, I was shewn a book upon the ancient decisions of the Rota of Rome. Another day I dined at Siliurea or Seliurea, likewise an archiepiscopal see, where I saw some churches and modern edifices, together with the ruins of others more ancient.

At length on the 15th of August, Assumption-day, I arrived at Constantinople, highly delighted with the whole of my voyage, notwithstanding the fatigue I had endured, and suffered but trivially from sea-sickness.

The strength of our vessel dismissed all apprehension from pirates, of which we were met with by none, although under suspicion occasionally at sight of strange sails, when we prepared for combat, and, as I knew well the strength of our ship, an engagement would have been to me an amusement. I met with Signior Crescentio Crescentii very opportunely, just before his departure, and had some conversation with him. I am lucky also in arriving at a time when the city is nearly free from the plague, it prevailing infinitely less than last year, so little indeed that there is no danger.

We have in this part an obliging nobleman, Achilles de Harlai Baron de Saffry, the French ambassador, as learned as he is polite, who insists on my residing at his hotel, and shews me infinite kindness. The air at his abode is delightful and the society charming.

You may if you please write to me under cover to Signior Francesco Crescentio. Remember me with friendship still, you as well as Signior Coletta, and may you enjoy as much happiness and content as I do. Humbly and tenderly do I salute you both.

---

Our traveller, after residing some time at Constantinople, describes his voyage to Egypt, touching at Co and Rhodes afterwards examining several parts of that country proceeds to Palestine, traverses Syria to Aleppo, journies thence to Damascus, and across the desert to Bagdad; as however more recent accounts of the various countries through which he past have appeared, we shall omit this part of his work, and accompany him to Persia; an empire little known, and of which his description still possesses the charm of novelty.



## LETTER I. — FROM PERSIA.

*Hispahan, 17th March 1617.*

I AVAIL myself of the occasion of sending this exprefs to Italy on matters of business, to communicate to you as succinctly as possible, a detail of my travels from Babylon to this city.

As I advised you of my intention in my letters from Bagdad of the 23d of December, in the last and of the 2d of January, in the present year, I departed thence on the 4th of the last-mentioned month, in the manner I shall describe.

The Persians now at war with the Turks, having made irruption into the province of Bagdad shortly before Christmas, and entirely devastated the town of Mendeli, the Bashaw in order to oppose them, and prevent the recurrence of similar violence, dispatched an army against them, of from seven to eight thousand men. This state of warfare acted as an interruption to trade to such a degree that merchants, especially if inhabitants of Bagdad, no longer dared to travel for fear of the enemy. However, as Bagdad cannot subsist without the provision it draws from Persia, the Bashaw, notwithstanding the great losses he had sustained, still not only permitted the intercourse of caravans, but solicited the departure of the traders, under assurance of protection, and gave them every facility in his power, particularly as the public good was not less concerned in this than his private interest; the custom dues upon various articles producing him annually a considerable sum. For my part desirous of setting out on my journey, and fearing nothing from the Persians, they being in friendship with us, I secretly persuaded a captain of Persian muleteers then at Bagdad, to obtain a passport from the Bashaw for himself, his people, and whatever merchandize he chose; advising him as absolutely necessary, to hire one of the Chiaoux of the Bashaw as an escort, as far as the frontiers, to act as a restraint on the licentiousness of the soldiery.

The captain's application had all the success I could wish; and finding myself by this means, secure in traversing the Turkish territory, I made due preparation for my departure. On this occasion, several relations and friends of Madame Maani \*, my spouse, visited us and passed the evening at my house, where, as is usual with them on similar occasions, they had fires kindled in the court, over which the children amused themselves in leaping, as is practised in Rome on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. This ceremony was attended with a singularity. A number of young ladies of the party lighted each a wax candle at these fires, which, after carrying till they were tired, they placed in sconces, suffering them to burn throughout the night, and taking especial care to prevent their extinguishing, as such an accident would be deemed ominous for her to whom the taper might belong, either foreboding her not getting a husband, or some such misfortune.

The next day we were on the point of departing, but, as I had described myself to be the son of a Venetian merchant well known in that country, trading to Orinus, and the Bashaw had made strict enquiries respecting me, indicating suspicion, notwithstanding the Franks be allowed this commerce, I was apprehensive of meeting with some embarrassment, or being detained; therefore, without saying any thing further of my intention, I suffered the muleteers and those who accompanied them to leave the city without me, and, as is customary, to repair beneath the walls of the castle, and after

\* A Babylonian lady, represented by Signior della Valle as a model of perfection, as well for the beauty of her person as her acquirements and virtues, to whom he was betrothed at Bagdad, and who accompanied him through great part of his travels.



the cavalcade had been duly inspected by the officers of the customs, understanding that on the evening of the 4th of January (new stile) they were about to commence their journey, I dispatched, by little at a time, in the course of the day, the greater part of my equipage, and in the evening filed off my people by different streets of the city, leaving it myself after sunset, without changing my dress, under pretence of taking an airing on the banks of the Tigris. Without the gates, on a very fine plain, I saw from sixty to seventy Turks extremely well mounted, belonging to the Bashaw, who were amusing themselves, galloping, crossing each other, darting sticks; an entertainment common with them as well as in Spain, called in the latter country, the game of canes\*; I was much pleased with their dexterity, stopping some time to admire them, but night drawing on they withdrew from the lists, and I, after the city-gates were closed, to join my companions; when, by two o'clock in the morning, having loaded the mules with our luggage, we escaped from the Turks with such secrecy, that even the Chiaoux who accompanied us knew nothing of our junction with the caravan.

We travelled all night long, mounted on mules and horses of the country, which are very swift; and whose speed we put to the proof, apprehensive that the Bashaw might repent of his civility towards us, and dispatch some of his people to stay our progress: so that by day-break we arrived at the Diala, a river that empties itself into the Tigris, and which, owing to there being no more than one boat to waft us over, we were employed till noon in crossing. This Diala I deem the ancient Gyndi, which Cyrus, angered at the loss of one of his sacred horses, divided into three hundred and sixty channels, according to Herodotus in his Clio, so that his army forded it on his expedition against Babylon. After passing the Diala we encamped on its banks, judging ourselves sufficiently distant from Bagdad, and remained there till midnight, in the neighbourhood of a village called Beherus. At that time the signal "to horse" being given, we pursued our course as quickly as before. The country from Babylon is flat and marshy in places, chiefly a desert, as cultivated spots are unfrequent, not owing however to the barrenness of the soil, as was evident from the myriads of wild plants and herbs it produced.

The sixth day of our march we passed first a town called ~~Techiè~~ Techie; afterwards another denominated a city, on account of its extent; and again Sheravan, under which the Turks from Bagdad were encamped, and where they held council whether they should advance, possibly fearful of inconveniencing the Persians, but more probably from fear of being worsted. We afterwards passed another town called Harounie, from a certain haroun, close to which we encamped for the night, but were much troubled by thieves, who came galloping up to rob us as we slept; many thus lost part of their property, and something of little consequence was stolen from my tent. This, however, being perceived by my painter, he kept watch, and on the thieves coming a second time, he fired and wounded one, which afterwards kept me free from depredation. The next day, after paying some duties, we continued our journey, traversing certain mountains, entirely bare, even of the least herbage, afterwards a similar plain, and in the evening erected our tents under a place called Kizil-rabat, the last under the dominion of Turkey. This part is inhabited and commanded by one Ahmed, or Muhammed Bey; the chief of a number of Curds, and holds his possessions in perpetuity of the Grand Signior, on condition of his protecting the country from the incursions of the Persians.

\* See a description of this amusement in the account of the diversions of the court in Bourgoanne's Picture of Modern Spain.



Curdistan, or the country of the Curds, separates Turkey from Persia, and is in breadth from ten to twelve days journey, but in length is of great extent, stretching from the province of Babylon, or Chufistan, to the Persian Gulph towards the south, and on the north above Nineveh, between Armenia and Media, almost to the Euxine. It is a strong country and difficult of access, being full of mountains, branching from Mount Taurus, which pervade Asia, and terminate as before observed at the Persian Gulph, as if nature intended it as a natural rampart between two empires; as now those of Persia and Turkey, and formerly those of Rome and the Parthians. The ancient name of this country I am unable to discover, or whether it was in old times known under any general denomination. From its northern extremities issued the Carduchi, who, as related by Xenophon in his admirable book on the wars of Cyrus, annoyed him so much in his retreat as to oblige him to tread back his steps.

The idiom of the people of this country is peculiar to themselves, differing from that of their neighbours, whether Arab, Turk, or Persian, having, however, most affinity with degenerate Persian. Many of the people live in tents, and wander from place to place with their flocks; but the chief, the best informed, and most respectable, dwell in towns. They are subject to different lords, to whom they render homage as vassals; some to the Turk and some to the Persian, according to their contiguity to the one or the other; while others again of the most noble of different degrees of grandeur and authority maintain themselves as independent. Among them, some such as the Prince of Bettis, can bring into the field from ten to twelve thousand horse, while others again, the Bey I have cited for example, can produce scarcely three thousand. The more powerful do not render homage after the manner of vassals to their lords with us, but merely profess to live under the protection of one or other of the two monarchs, and, as is common with our petty Princes of Italy, change masters according to circumstances. The less powerful are not only vassals, but do not possess the right of devolving on their children the governments they fill, satisfied with holding them during their life. Their dress resembles that of the Persians and Turks, but is coarse. Their women go abroad freely unveiled, and converse familiarly with foreigners as well as natives. Their religion is the Mohammedan of the sect of Ali or Omar, according as they depend on Persia or Turkey; in their faith however they vary from other Mussulmen, by whom they are considered as heretics, retaining certain superstitions peculiar to themselves. In some parts of their province, such as in Gezira, a city of Mesopotamia, situated in an island of the Tigris under the government of a Curd, and in the mountains called Tor, by the Chaldeans, where to this day the Chaldee tongue is spoken, the Curds reign independently and with absolute power. Among these people are a number of Christians, Nestorians, or Jacobites, who fight in the armies of their Princes. But let us return to Kizil-rabat. We departed thence the 8th of January at day-break, after paying some small tribute, and quitting this territory, entered upon a country formerly fertile and inhabited by the Turks, but entirely wasted by the Persians in their last wars with the Turks, and made a complete desert: for here it is held, and with reason, that there can be no safer rampart against invasion, than by making a wilderness of the country bordering on a kingdom, as the small number of people that can traverse it at a time, from being obliged to take provision with them, can effect but little injury; and the passage is rendered impracticable to large bodies, who would perish in the attempt of hunger. Hence, where wide deserts separate two adjoining kingdoms, the inhabitants of the frontiers are much released from apprehensions on account of the enemy.

The same day we forded a river of considerable breadth and difficult to pass, notwithstanding it was near its source; it was the same river we had crossed before, that is to say,



say, the Diala. The following night we passed in the country, by the side of a rivulet, and on the succeeding day came to a large place in ruins and abandoned, called Cafri Shirin, or the palace of Shirin. Shirin, in the Persian language, signifies sweet; and is also a proper name for either man or woman. A Princess of this country had that appellation, who became the wife of Chosrou, to whom possibly this city belonged, and whose amours form the subject of a fine poem, still subsisting. On leaving Cafri Shirin we discovered, in the evening, a large body of Persian cavalry, commanded by one Cafum Sultan, governor of the frontiers, who had been pillaging and sacking Mendeli. I was delighted at seeing them, considering myself now delivered from the Pharisees: and the advanced guard, on the look out as I suppose, upon seeing approached us, and on my discovering myself as a Christian, concealment now being useless, they all flocked about, and happy was he who could get nearest me to make tamascia, that is to say, his remarks on something new before his companions, the Persians being exceedingly fond of novelties. They accompanied me for the space of some leagues with much politeness, conversing in the Turkish language, which is as much in esteem in Persia as the country-tongue itself, and continually used in conversation at court, in the army, and by people of quality, although all the public acts be issued in the Persian dialect; the greater part of the nation, even the women, being thus acquainted with both. This custom arises from the kizilbash, or the chief soldiery, which are numerous, and even most of the nobles in the country being originally Turks, who have preserved their native language in its genuine purity, and being more masculine and nervous, it is used even by the King, the Persian being a soft and tender language, best fitted for the fair sex and poetry.

These Persian cavaliers had no other arms than bows and arrows, and a curved scymiter, such as was deemed by Xenophon, an experienced captain and good soldier, the best adapted for cavalry. By their not having any other arms, I conjectured them to be a light company, seeing they are not destitute in the main army of lances, match-firelocks, and other instruments of war. They, however, all fight on horseback; their horses are small, hardy, made as well for swiftness as fatigue, and require little food. We shewed them, among other things, our arms, and excited much surprize by the celerity and ease with which we managed our muskets with spring locks, which they much admired; confessing that with such weapons we should be a match for four times our number of them. Taking their leave at length they continued their road, while for our part, to benefit by the water, we passed the night on a spot contiguous to the same river we had crossed, and several inhabited villages; whence the Curds, both men and women, resorted to our camp, loaded with provision of different kinds, which we purchased, such as milk and pistachio nuts, with the shell yet green, quantities of which grow in Curdistan, and other similar articles.

On the tenth day we had to pass some small mountains, in order to obtain forage for our cattle; and in the evening arrived near a small stream called Tenghi Imaun, below a town belonging to the Curds, called Tenghi Conaghi, that is to say, a fresh resting-place, where we passed the night. Here it was I metamorphosed myself, leaving my Syrian to assume the Persian costume; and desirous of being deficient in nothing, I sent for a barber from the village, who with much ceremony, curtailed me of my long and famous beard *à la Turque*, which with great inconvenience I had suffered to grow ever since I left Constantinople, having my face and chin clear, and preserving my whiskers alone on the upper lip, as worn by the King of Persia. In short, I was so much transfigured that such as knew me in Turkey would have had difficulty in recognizing me. Madame Maani, however, who knew nothing of my intention, upon  
seeing



seeing me, was angry in extreme, at the little regard I had for my chief ornament. I did all I could to appease her, and at length succeeded, telling her how necessary it was to accommodate oneself to the usages of the country through which we travelled; and that she must be prepared to see me in Italy under a still more fantastic appearance, with a beard, which properly might be termed of a goatish fashion. In this garb I mean to have my likenesses taken, which for your amusement I will either send or bring back with me to Italy. In Jenghà Conaghì it snowed and rained during the whole of the night, for the first time during our progress; the cold however was supportable.

On the eleventh day it was late before we set off, having waited to dry our tents, which, hardened and frozen during the fall of snow, were difficult to fold, we notwithstanding reached betimes the foot of a high mountain which we had to pass, near a castle called Leshiver, newly constructed on that spot for the security of the frontier in which the Casumsultan, before noticed, resided at the time, with about five hundred of his soldiers, the residue being dispersed in different places on the confines. We rested here the whole of the twelfth day, as well to give repose to our cattle before we crossed the mountains, as because it is a common practice for the caravans to halt here some time, and make a present to the Sultan, to whom not only many towns and villages are subject but likewise a number of Curds, who wander about the mountains. Here, for two nights, we endured much from extreme cold, accompanied by a furious wind, which rendered the tent-pegs and cords for fastening them almost useless. On the succeeding day we crossed the mountain, entirely covered with snow, by which we were much incommoded all the way to Hispahan, not, indeed, by that which fell from the clouds, but what had already fallen on the road. Its shining white much affecting the eyes, we had recourse to an expedient adopted on a similar occasion by Xenophon, covering them with a black crape, which served in some measure as a protection.

We took refuge early in the evening in a sheltered spot in the mountains, where we had the good fortune of meeting with an uncovered portion of ground on which to pitch our tents, and sleep in the day. Near this place among the precipices was a small town inhabited by Curds, called Kieren, whence a number repaired to our caravan, according to custom, with a quantity of provisions. Madame Maani was curious of seeing their houses; and as they appeared to be at no great distance, we went thither on foot, accompanied by some of those females of the country, who had visited us with their merchandize. We arrived there at night, and a civil man having instructed us that a certain Kanum Sultan, the lady of the place and several other circumjacent villages, was in the town, Madame Maani wished to pay her a visit. The same person who happened to be the steward of her house, led us thither; where we were received with the greatest kindness imaginable, Madame Maani by the Kanum Sultan, and myself by her brother, her husband being absent on some employ, to which he had been appointed by the King. We were desirous, as it was late, of taking our leave, but this they would not allow, ere we had previously supped; when the women by themselves, we men in a separate apartment, were regaled with different viands. The bread, as I remarked, throughout all Curdistan and frequently in Persia, was light and excellent, consisting of flat cakes, very white and well baked: the hands served, however, in lieu of either spoons, knives, or forks, according to the custom of Persia. The meat was not of the best quality; but the friendly manner in which we were treated, and the extreme urbanity of our hosts, made it a feast for Sardanapalus or Heliodorus. Nor did their civility finish here; after receiving the handsomest compliments on our departure from the Kanum Sultan, on which occasion her brother interpreted the Curd language into Turkish, he absolutely insisted on accompanying us back, together with some of his servants.

Madame



Madame Maani by these sent to the Kanum Sultan in return a basin full of fruit and sweetmeats of various kinds, and other little articles not to be met with in these countries, together with a profusion of perfumes and scented powders.

On Saturday, the fourteenth day of our journey, after having scaled a very irksome mountain, we encamped in a beautiful and spacious meadow, surrounded by several small hills divided from each other, rising in various quarters, and forming one of the pleasantest prospects I remember to have ever seen. The nearest town, which was on the summit of the lowest mountain, whence rolled a considerable stream, was called Harounabad, that is to say, the colony of Haroun, called otherwise by corruption Harinava. On the following Sunday we set off, according to custom, more than three hours before dawn, and notwithstanding the quantity of snow with which we were almost constantly loaded, we travelled over a considerable space, not halting even at a spot where the caravans usually do, but proceeding much farther to a small rivulet near a village called Mahidefer. On the Monday, for us a very unpleasant day, on account of the snow continually falling, accompanied by wind and rain, we took up our lodging in a small town built on a bridge, under which a river flows, called Kara Sou, or black water: the place being called in Persian Puly Shah, and in Turkish Shah-kiopresi, words of similar import, signifying the King's bridge. Unwilling to repose on this occasion under our tents, we had an opportunity of ascertaining the kindness and obliging manners of the inhabitants of Curdistan, being treated by our host with every thing comfortable in an apartment kept pleasantly warm by a large fire.

I noticed here one matter which I deem worthy of mention, not as regarding Curdistan alone, but the whole of Persia, even in the most considerable houses. They kindle their fires not under a chimney, as is usual with us in fire-places, but in a kind of oven called tinnor, about two palms from the ground, formed of a vase of burnt clay, in which they place burning coals, charcoal, or other combustible matter, which quickly lights. After this, they place a plank over the oven in shape of a small table, which they cover entirely, spreading over it a large cloth which extends on all sides to the ground, over a part of the floor of the chamber. By this contrivance the heat being prevented diffusing itself all at once, it is communicated insensibly, and so pleasantly throughout the whole apartment, that it cannot be better compared than to the effect of a stove. Persons at their meals, or in conversation, and some even sleeping lay on the carpets round this small table, supporting themselves against the walls of the apartment on cushions kept for the purpose, which likewise serve for seats in this country, the tinnor being so placed as to be equally distant from the sides of the room; by this means, those to whom the cold is not unpleasant put their legs only under the cloth, others who feel it more sensibly their hands and the rest of their body; so that a mild and penetrating warmth diffuses itself agreeably over the whole body without any injury to the head, as I have repeatedly experienced. Of the excellence of this contrivance I am so fully persuaded, that I am resolved on adopting it when I shall return to Italy. Those who feel no necessity for additional warmth, or who are sufficiently warmed, by throwing aside the cloth, feel no other temperature than that of the apartment itself, which is heated to a pleasant degree. The smoke from the coals is conveyed by means of a pipe from the oven under ground, and by means of another communicating with the grated bottom of the fire, it is supplied with air. In certain parts where nicety is less regarded than in great houses, such as the villages of Curdistan, they cook their meat at and bake their cakes on a flat sheet of iron laid over the tennor in little more than an instant of time. In other parts, where the bread is made thicker, they use ovens.



On Tuesday the 17th of January, as is usual at this period, we were much incommoded by extremely cold winds, accompanied by frost and snow. We hoped to pass the night of this day at a caravanferai, that is to say, the palace of the caravan, answering to **■** khafe in Arabic, situated a long day's journey before us, and about it a number of small houses have latterly been constructed; this place is called Sker-neu, or New Town. We reckoned, I say, on sleeping at this caravanferai, but on arrival found not only the whole place, but likewise all the surrounding villages occupied by **■** caravan, consisting of two thousand six hundred camels; the number of people travelling with it was so prodigious, that notwithstanding every house was filled, many were constrained to lodge beneath their tents. Seeing this, we no longer lost any time, but encamped on a spot where there was least snow, and that most trodden. We lighted fires, but found it impossible to sleep, owing to the cold and the wind, which threatened not only to blow down our tents, but even to carry away our beds and bedding. Nest icò dur, however, as the Turks say, *this is a trifle*; inconvenience past is forgot. Our sufferings were great, but, whether owing to the excellence of the air, or other causes, notwithstanding I was frequently exposed without covering to **■** humid atmosphere, the cold and the snow, for a length of time together, I felt not the least injury in consequence; being even less subject to colds than I was wont in Italy, where a similar exposure would assuredly have brought me to death's door. Yet why do I speak of myself; a man who, although of weak habit, am inured to hardships; even my Maani, a young and delicate lady, brought up in a warm country, with such tenderness that the wind was never suffered to "visit her face too roughly;" my Maani bore with the cold, bore with the comfortless damps, and was not ill in consequence. Here, however, I must make a remark. Generally, notwithstanding my head has been shaved, I have been accustomed to sleep without any cap; in consequence of the cold I was induced to wear a napkin fastened round my head, by which I became afflicted with a catarrh that lasted until I laid aside my napkin. This I deem the more singular, from my constantly wearing a turban during the day, and my sleeping booted and in my clothes, well covered, at night.

We quitted Sker-neu on Wednesday, having as long a journey to make as on the preceding day, but with more favourable weather, it ceasing to snow. We reached Sēhēnay, or Sahanay, in the evening, a large town inhabited promiscuously by Persians and Curds; where, it being of extent, we found accommodation in the house of some Persian ladies who spoke the Turkish language; and, in order to rest our horses, extremely fatigued by their marching through the snow, we halted here the whole of Thursday. This place is the extremity of Curdistan and the beginning of Persia, at least, if the general use of the Persian language be the criterion; any other I could not discover, finding none capable of pointing out to me distinctly the borders; for here the people are used to call each province by the name of the actual governor; as in Turkey, on the contrary, a nobleman is called by the name of the city over which he presides.

The Friday following we took up our abode at **■** large town called Kienghievèr. Here I began to observe the great superiority of Persia over Turkey, as well in the good disposition as the number of its inhabitants; the excellent culture of the lands; and numerous other circumstances, in which Persia is little inferior to Christendom. We no longer now had any occasion to pitch our tents, finding every where caravanferai, built either by different Kings or individuals. The accommodation they afford is gratuitous; it is only shelter: some of these inns have apartments, while others have only piazzas, with which the people of the country are satisfied. For my part, desirous of



comfort and neatness, I always avoided them, lodging when possible in private houses, in which I was more at my ease, for a trifle of extra expence. In Kienghievèr we found a very neat and handsome house, and were provided with many different sorts of fruit, such as pomegranates, apples, and fresh grapes; a matter which exceedingly surprised me in so cold a country, then almost wholly buried in snow. Saturday we travelled a great way, commencing our journey at midnight; and, after passing through numerous villages, halted at a large town called Saad-abad, or the colony of Saad. This was the native place of our muleteers, to please whom, notwithstanding we were impatient to be gone, we were obliged to remain for three days, lodging in their houses. On Wednesday the 25th of January, we ascended a very high mountain, descending with great facility owing to the excellence of the road, notwithstanding it was covered with a quantity of snow. We afterwards passed several other villages, arriving at night at a town called Zaga, or Zagan, and the next day by noon reached Hamadàn, where our caravan finished its course, the muleteers being engaged to conduct us no farther. Here I hired a house, and remained for several days, as well to make my observations on the city, as to lay in necessaries for the remainder of our journey.

Hamadàn is a very large and well populated city, and one the most frequented of any in Persia. Its buildings are rustic, as well as the dress of its inhabitants. Its gardens, however, of which there are a number interspersed among the houses and in the public squares, are ornamental, nor is the vine a stranger; the Persians, notwithstanding they be Mahommedans, drinking freely and without scruple of its exhilarating juice. In this city merchandize of every description is to be found, whether of provision or for cloathing, and all the streets in which these are sold, called bazars, are arched over, a common practice throughout Persia. We met with great quantities of fruit here, with many kinds of which we regaled ourselves, such as apples, pomegranates, grapes, and the like; this to me was surprising, seeing the cold was so intense that liquors froze even in our chambers. Hamadàn is the residence of a Khan, to whom several Sultans are subordinate, as well as a number of circumjacent villages: the nature of these distinctions I shall explain as I proceed. We met with great civilities in this city, and were waited upon on the very evening of our arrival by the Daroga, or governor, who commands in the absence of the Khan, the latter being with the army. Thinking to entertain me, he brought with him some women-singers, but as I was extremely fatigued, and had already retired to the ladies, more disposed for sleep than diversion, I deputed one of my people to represent me, and state that I was indisposed; he doing the honours at a collation presented according to the custom of the country.

This was not, however, the only instance of politeness: straw and oats being so scarce here as sometimes not to be had for money, Scheich Ahmed Bey, one of the principal inhabitants, a person I had even never heard of, sent me a present of these articles for my horses. On another occasion he invited me, with Madame Maani and her ladies, to dine with him. Here, however, it is fit I should make a remark.

The Persians, who are extremely liberal of presents, expect a return of at least an equivalent value. I am told even that where their courtesy has not been followed by such an acknowledgement, they have been hurt even to tears, and required restoration.

I shall give you a description of the entertainment afforded us, which, as all are conducted with the same ceremony, even those given by the King, will serve as a general picture of their customs and forms on such occasions. In the first place, Ahmed Bey sent a horse elegantly caparisoned for Madame Maani, which she mounted after the fashion of the country, sitting astride; but in her Babylonian dress; the servant who brought leading the horse, (such being the mode in this city) and some of her waiting-women



women in her suite on foot. We followed her shortly after, and, on our arrival, were met in the court by the master of the house, who introduced us into an apartment on the ground-floor, their houses being built wholly of one story to prevent the labour of an ascent. The apartments, however, do not as with us communicate one with another, but each has a separate entrance. Each house has a distinct room for each purpose; a hall for reception of visitors, a sleeping room, another for storing provisions, and several for the master and women, those of the mistresses apart from the servants'. The apartment into which we were introduced was square and small, covered with a carpet, the walls white and unadorned, the roof a dome of a capricious fancy, ornamented with Arabesk paintings. It was heated not by an oven, after the manner of the Curds, but by a fire-place, around which, close to the walls, those were seated who had been invited, and had arrived before me. Of the number was the Daroga, whose name was Nazar Bey, near to whom, as the most honourable place, I was seated with two of my people, that is to say, Alexander and the painter. There were there three female musicians with instruments. One of these had several strings, but bore no resemblance to our lutes or guitars; others were tambourines of a larger size, more melodious, and better made than those which are used by young ladies in Italy. These singing-women are very amusing, and on similar occasions are hired to divert company; one of them, called Filfil, (an Arabic word signifying pepper,) was much caressed and treated with great civility, notwithstanding she was both old and ugly, merely on account of her being one of those who occasionally appeared before the King. The floor of the room was covered in many parts with fruit, such as pomegranates, pears, grapes, chick-peas salted, of which they keep good stores, pistachio-nuts, and the like, of which the guests ate when they pleased. They were seated on their legs in the middle of the chamber between the various dishes, while two young pages, apparently slaves, surrounded by bottles of wine, were employed in filling certain silver cups, in the shape of those spoons with which one eats soup, but smaller, and presenting them round to the company without any salver. The two cups, one on each side, changed hands incessantly, but in regular order going about, so that the last having finished, the first received it again. Yet, notwithstanding the number of these Sipo, I doubt if the quantity drank was so much as is taken by a Fleming or a German at a single meal, particularly as I noticed none surprised with wine.

As for me, who drink none, as they knew, I was excused, only once taking coffee, to which I am very partial, particularly when very warm. According to the religious custom of the Persians, which perfectly agrees with the description in holy writ of the freedom enjoyed at the banquets of Ahasuerus, none were entreated to drink against their inclination, as is usual in northern countries, but when satiated, each passes the cup. This batch of drinking and eating fruit continually was very irksome to me, but much more so the custom of sitting cross-legged upon our heels, which, however, is indispensable, extending the legs being considered an intolerable mark of incivility; add to this, the silence maintained was far from agreeable to me; no other conversation passing at these feasts than in whispers with those immediately near to you. The female musicians, however, consoled me in a degree; these sung various airs in the Persian language, as well sitting as dancing, and accompanying their voice with their instruments in a very pleasing manner. Their dances, which are voluptuous, less so, indeed, than those of the Egyptians, much resemble the voleros of the Spaniards, but their gesticulations with the arms appeared to me void of grace; and their uncouth dress, which is very tight and fastened by a band which goes under their haunches, was ill adapted for the display of their harlequinism. I did not comprehend their songs, as I am yet a novice in the Persian, the language in which they sung. I distinguished, how-



ever, the frequent occurrence of Shah Abbas, the name of the King, and conceived thence that they were eulogies of that Prince, who, indeed, is held in such veneration by his subjects that they swear by his name; and when they wish you well, frequently exclaim in Turkish, *Shah Abbas murandi vir sùn*; "May Abbas the King be kind to you;" answering to our God bless you.

These diversions, and the collation, lasted till the beginning of night, when, instead of sweetmeats being handed round, as is customary at a royal or princely entertainment, the wine and fruit was displaced. A sofa was then spread on the ground, that is to say, a large painted cloth, which covered the whole of the floor. On this two servants kneeling, handed round in order to the different guests seated near the walls of the room eight large dishes of *pilâd*, made of rice and meat, each of different flavour and variously seasoned. Upon the cloth, in different places, several large flat cakes are laid pyramidically between the dishes, the servants waiting on the guests, who were so seated in the midst of the dishes, as that without change of place three or four could commodiously help himself from each dish. They use no napkins, but in lieu wipe their hands on large handkerchiefs of painted linen, embroidered with silk or gold, suspended from the waist. In this instance the Persians are less nice than the Turks, but so prevalent is this custom, that it is followed even by the King. Some wooden spoons were placed, however none but we Europeans used them, the Persians always using their fingers and hand alone in eating, curving their fingers dexterously to serve as spoons; a practice which to us seemed indelicate and coarse.

After the *pilâd* was removed, water was served for washing the hands, which they use warm in summer as well as winter, to clean the hands the better; they sent likewise to our servants who were at home some dishes of the *pilâd*, which had not been touched, saying it was but right they should participate in the feast.

While thus regaled the ladies were entertained in a separate apartment, and the singing-women who ate with us repaired to them at intervals to divert them; for, notwithstanding these females be of very loose morals, they yet are admitted as actresses into the society of ladies for their diversion. The feast being ended, the guests retired. I was one of the last to depart. It was late, and night had set in; and, when about to leave, the master of the house not only offered to conduct me home with all his servants, but even wished to present me with several very handsome horses, and many other things, which, however, with much gratitude I declined. I omitted to state to you, that in the morning before I paid him a visit, not being ignorant of the usage of Persia, as an acknowledgment for his present to me, I sent him a packet of nick-nacks from Italy, partly eatables, and part ornaments; neither did I forget the Daroga.

Persia is every where inhabited, and on its roads travelling is unaccompanied with any danger; this kingdom, unlike Turkey, being entirely free from highway robberies, the districts being made responsible for the security of travellers passing through them. On this account, being tired of the caravans, I resolved on travelling by myself. However, before my departure, as it got wind, several persons determined on accompanying me, but each travelled as he listed. For me, I gave orders not to hurry away so soon in the morning, desirous of enjoying sleep till sun-rise.

After passing the whole of the day in packing and weighing my baggage, the charge for its transport being according to weight; satisfied with having begun our journey, after travelling for an hour, I stopt at a town or village called Gaurfin, or the land of Guebres, where I passed the night in the apartments of a very large spacious caravan-*serai*. Orientals, whether they travel, or are on their way to join the army under a chief, never make much progress the first day; in order that every one may commodiously join the body at the appointed place, as well as that if any thing should have



been forgot, or be wanted, time may be afforded to obtain it; an ancient custom practised by Cyrus, as related by Xenophon.

On Saturday I lodged at the caravanferai of a small village, and on Sunday noticed an immense number of farms; on one of which was a royal stud consisting of five thousand horses. We took up our abode at night in the house of a nobleman, in a large town called Dizava, but spelled Diz-abad, signifying the colony of Diz. On Monday I reached Saru, a large town, stopping at a private house. I observed here, as well as in other towns of Persia, that the doors of the houses were very small, and of marble, which open and close in the same manner as those of the sepulchres of the Kings of Jerusalem: they are, however, of rather clumsy construction. Tuesday I remained all day at Saru, to suffer those who accompanied me to go before, on account of the inconvenience I experienced from their arriving at the various places before me, owing to their monopolizing the oats for their cattle. Wednesday I made a very short journey, stopping at a small village called Eibeig-abad, where the hostess, in spite of my inclination for sleep, was absolutely resolved on diverting me till midnight with music, songs, and dances, by a woman with little to recommend her, being dirty in herself and her voice cracked and hoarse, and some little boys who displayed much taste and gracefulness. One of them among the rest, dressed to suit the subject, danced and sung in character of a woman in labour, and was so diverting as almost to kill us with laughter. On Thursday we arrived in the evening at a capital house, in a large town, called Shehrackird. On Friday at Enghevùn, a word signifying, a place for carpets, there being here a considerable manufactory of that article. We received repeated visits here, and were continually amused with the conversation of very handsome women, but in particular that of a Kanum aga, so civil and so agreeable, that at her instances we were induced to remain here the whole of the next day, she inviting Mad. Maani to take a bath, and shewing her every kindness imaginable. In the mean time there was no want of music, singing, and dancing, in the house.

On Sunday we crossed a mountain very tiresome to pass, owing to the rapidity of the acclivity, and the depth of snow, and in the evening reached Charavend, a large town, in which we met with pleasant society, and were visited by ladies of great beauty. On Monday, after a long and tedious journey, we halted at Gûl-pâigan, where we arrived late in the evening. This city resembles Hamadân, but is smaller; its name signifies a sheath for the roots of roses: we passed entirely through the middle of the city, from one extremity to the other, night not having yet set in, and took up our lodging in a caravanferai, not yet entirely complete, but of elegant structure. We were but ill-accommodated here; however, not finding any provision in the place, and being without means of obtaining any from without on account of the lateness of the hour. Tuesday we arrived at Oniscion, where we passed the night at the house of some very civil, beautiful, and gallant ladies, one of whom called Aga bibicè, bitterly bewailed her hard fortune in being united to a husband, too far advanced in years, and was so melancholy as much to excite my compassion. Our muleteers, who now were near their home, in order that they might pay it a visit, pretending their cattle were fatigued and required changing, left us, with a promise of returning shortly. They delayed their return, however, till Friday afternoon: in consequence, notwithstanding it was late, I ordered the mules to be laden, and to punish them, took up abode in a wretched caravanferai at the extremity of the village, but at some distance from where we were. On Saturday by night we reached a castle, situated on a high and rugged rock, of very difficult access. It has, I learnt, two different names, Rahmetabad and Khiuneirân: but finding a more convenient lodging, we rested at a bath in a room.



room under a small dome, where such as chose to bathe undress and dress themselves.

In the evening at least five-and-twenty females, led by the lady of the governor of the castle, came to make *tamascia*. The curiosity of the Persians is indeed surprizing, yet not less so their hospitality, which is still the same as related by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius. Even with the King it is enough you should declare yourself a foreign traveller. A certain Augustin monk, resident at this court for the court of Spain, related to me, that the King one day giving an entertainment to a Prince of Tartary, who had lately arrived there, and custom making requisite he should pull off the boots he wore, on walking on the carpets with which the floors are covered, the servants were directed to pull off his boots; but as he could not easily support himself on one leg, while they pulled the boot from the other, the King himself held him up on the occasion; and noticing the Portuguese monk, who was present, to appear surprized at his condescension, as well as others, who were by, he looked at him with a smile, and being of extreme ready wit, made use of a proverb of the country, which, however, is taken from Homer: *Metrimanez choda*: — a guest, a man from God.

To return to my travels. On Sunday the 19th of February, we arrived in the evening at a spot so well peopled as to deserve rather the name of a city than a town or village, called *Dehbè*, or *Dehà*, and passed the night in a very neat, nay, elegant apartment. On Monday we slept at an old caravanserai almost in ruins, in midst of a country deserted on account of the unwholesomeness of its water; the name of this canton is *Alei*. On Tuesday we made a long day's journey through a similar country, reposing at a caravanserai as miserable as that of the preceding evening, at a place called *Chialishah*. Here I found a servant dispatched to me by the Carmelite friars, who had waited for me there for three days. These friars reside at *Hispahan* on the part of His Holiness, and, in consequence, are highly respected by the King; and, as I had advised them by letter of my intention of seeing them shortly, they informed me by this express of what had taken place between them and one of the King's ministers, resident in *Hispahan* as *Vizier*. They, as well as several others, had informed him of my arrival; and knowing that I came in quality of the King's visitor, being so persuaded by the friars, and, moreover, that I was a Roman, and *Beigzade* or noble, he determined on setting out to meet me, and paying me the first visit at my house, in which he would not fail to be copied by the principal persons of the city; but he was dissuaded from his intention by the good fathers, at my request, who represented to him that I considered I should be wanting in the respect due to so great a King, in making parade in a city dependent on him, before I had had the honour of being presented, and that I should be entirely satisfied by his doing me the favor of appointing apartments for me. My answer gratified the *Vizier*, who informed me he should have to dread His Majesty's displeasure, had he been deficient of shewing me every attention. He accordingly assigned me a house of honour, belonging to the King, and destined for the reception of foreigners; which being communicated to me on Wednesday, 22d February, after dispatching some of my people before me, to acquaint the fathers of my arrival, I entered *Spaubawn*, as the city is called, although it be spelt *Hispahan*; the initial vowel being left out before the *S*, as we are accustomed with those of the Spanish words, with an *S* preceded by *E*.

On arriving at *Hispahan* I dedicated the first days to paying my devoirs to the Carmelite friars, as submissive and obedient to the Pope as they are to the King, respectable men, of great liberality, in whose society I felt myself extremely happy. Living yet incognito, I had to resolve on what plan to follow. At first I thought of setting out immediately



immediately to join the King, then from thirty to forty days' journey distant, on the frontiers of the Turks and Georgians, with whom he was at war; but receiving intelligence, that if the difference with the Turks were not altogether adjusted, a cessation of hostilities had taken place; and that the King, after visiting the frontier towns, would certainly arrive in a little time, to receive certain ambassadors from the King of Lahôr, or, as he is called, the Grand Mogul, I have changed my intention, and await his return in Hispahan. By this express I forward to my friends in Rome and Constantinople, directions to remit me wherewithal to bear my expences, here as well as on the rest of the travels I project: their answers, if not from Italy at least from Constantinople, I expect will find me in this city; and intend, whatever be my reception on the part of the King, to remain here till after the month of August, and amuse myself with the enjoyments which Hispahan affords.

This city is very large, handsome and well peopled, so much so that in all the East I have met with none which excel it; for notwithstanding in point of situation Constantinople certainly surpasses, in many other points it falls short of Hispahan. Hispahan itself, that is to say, the space contained within its walls, is nearly as large as Naples, but three other quarters adjoining it, have lately been begun under direction of the King; one is the New Tauris, inhabited already by the colony transported from that place; the King however has given this quarter the name of Abbasabad: another is the New Chiolfâ, peopled wholly with very rich Armenian merchants, brought from various parts on the frontiers, that they might not be exposed to the risk of his losing them as subjects by any future wars, for the better defence of his kingdom devastating the borders, and bringing their inhabitants to cultivate lands assigned them in the heart of Persia; thus securing these people, who contribute not only to the grandeur, but also to the opulence and beauty, of the city of Hispahan, the principal abode of His Majesty, and a city in which, if we may judge from the multiplicity of structures continually erecting, and the great expence lavished upon it, the King exceedingly delights. The third quarter is that in which dwell the Guebres, or idolaters and infidels; and by the place it is apparent that Shah Abbas means to connect the whole of these with Hispahan, the works for the purpose being carried on with incredible energy. When complete I conceive that the circuit of the whole will be superior to that of Constantinople or Rome.

The buildings, generally speaking, are superior to those of Constantinople, but not so lofty. On the eastern part of the city the houses are handsome and well constructed, but particularly the bazars; these are elegant, symmetrical, very large, with piazzas, and built according to the nicest rules of architecture. In these all kinds of merchandize are to be found conveniently disposed for such as wish to buy or barter. There are also a number of caravanserai for the accommodation of strangers, well built, still better furnished, and spacious; and as the revenue from them is considerable and lucrative to the King and individuals to whom they belong, they take especial care to have them solidly constructed, and kept in good repair.

They have no mosques in this city comparable to the five or six in Constantinople; but to make amends, they have two curiosities not to be equalled either in Constantinople or any city in Christendom.

The one is the Meidân or the grand square that fronts the Royal Palace. It is six hundred and ninety of my paces in length, and two hundred and thirty broad, ornamented entirely round with most elegant arched porticoes, of the nicest symmetry, their uregularity not being interrupted by any street. These porticoes, over which balconies  
are



are constructed with large windows, are so many shops in which different articles of merchandize are exposed. I can assure you that this grand succession of symmetrical buildings has such a fine effect, and delights the eye so much, that notwithstanding the houses of the square of Navona be more lofty and magnificent, from its want of similarity, and other recommendations possessed by the Meidān, even that square must yield it the palm. A large rivulet, or rather a small river, running in a direct line with the quays which border it on each side, flows incessantly round the Meidān near to the porticoes, watering in a very agreeable manner each quarter of the square: just above the level of the water of the stream a handsome pavement of stone is laid on one side for the convenience of people on foot, while on the other, next to the piazzas, are a number of fine trees, planted in a line at regular distances from each other, and of equal height, whence I conclude that, when in a few days they shall put on the dress of spring, nothing can be more delightful than the prospect they must afford. The middle of the square consists of sand: it is consequently always dry, and extremely suitable for exhibitions of horsemanship.

The gate of the King's palace is on one of these noble fronts, about two-thirds down its length. It is rather pretty than magnificent or superb. A little below is the Lady's Gate, not yet finished. Opposite to that of the King, on the other side, is a mosque, with a beautiful portal and dome of a kind of porcelain, fancifully painted. On one side the foundations of a new mosque have been begun, on which the workmen are barely employed; and from the other, towards the bazars, you have a charming perspective, corresponding with the mosque, with two galleries raised on porticoes. Hither, every night, musicians repair, who play on martial instruments; some after the Turkish, others in the Persian manner: the music of them is highly grateful to the ear, and yet so powerful, that it is distinctly heard over all the square, notwithstanding its vast size.

The other curiosity is an immense street, at present out of the city, but which, when the four quarters become connected, will join them exactly in the middle; it is from two to three miles in length, and twice the breadth of that of Ponte Molle at Rome. At the head of this street, on the side of Hispahan, a small square house is built, in form of a pavilion, surrounded by balconies and windows, enriched with paintings and numerous ornaments, expressly for affording from its high site a prospect of the whole length of the street. There is a communication between this place and the Royal Palace by means of a corridor. Two walls of equal height form the two sides of this street: and within the walls are the King's gardens, which every one is allowed to enter, and eat of the fruit of infinite sorts which they contain, by making a trifling present to the gardener. On each side the street, at regular intervals, and opposite to each other, are entrances into the gardens, with small lodges for the convenience of such as chuse to rest and refresh themselves with fruit. The number of these gates, with tasteful frontispieces, is considerable, and gratify the eye exceedingly by the exactitude of their properties and symmetry. Without as well as within the walls trees are planted the whole length, of equal height, in a direct line and at equal distances, the verdure of which relieves while it charms the sight. In addition to this, in the courts of the largest and handsomest houses, are proportionate canals, without parapets, of different forms: the water which supplies these flowing nearly level the length of the street, in a bed of stone, leaving on each side sufficient space for horse and foot passengers. In many of these reservoirs are spouting fountains, and where there are acclivities, cascades, which delight the ear with their murmur. The street itself is paved in the middle, and next the walls with small stones, not inconvenient for the passenger either on foot or



on horseback, and the interval between the pavements on each side is planted with flowers and shrubs, which in spring must needs be incomparably grateful, as well from their beauty as their fragrance.

The river which flows along the middle of the street is very broad but not deep ; it is formed by a number of small streams, which fall from the neighbouring mountains, and afterwards again it divides into many rivulets, which lose themselves without proceeding to the sea, or disemboguing any where. Over this river is a bridge built of brick, broader than that at Rome, and three or four times as long. It is of singular form, with porticos and galleries on the sides in lieu of parapets, which serve as a promenade both above and below, the latter under cover, the upper not : but what please me most, are the walks on level with the water, built on large piers of stone, which traverse the double rows of arcades, and which in summer must be delightful, at once shady and cool, while the ear is charmed by the murmur of the waters falling from a cascade constructed on purpose in this spot, and forming a very agreeable prospect. Beyond the bridge the street continues the same, lined with walls, trees, houses, gardens and reservoirs ; the houses and gardens, however, no more belong to the King, but individuals of quality, who, to enjoy the beauty of the site, have constructed them here, each emulous of excelling his neighbour in the elegance of them.

This street terminates in a large garden called Hazar-gerib, signifying it to contain a thousand gerib, a certain measure of land ; the garden and the street itself, however, is otherwise called Chiahâr-bagh, or four gardens ; that being the number here formerly, now reduced to the one I mention. You ascend to this garden by steps, but of so little height and so broad, that you may go up them on horseback. This garden contains nothing but fruit-trees planted in lines, and so low that persons on horseback, and even those on foot, may readily gather them as they go along. This garden belongs to the King, but is open to all, and produces such abundance of fruit as to enable all the inhabitants of the town, who frequently resort hither, to lay in store. Each kind of fruit grows in separate squares by itself ; figs in one space, peaches in another, pears in a third, and so on. In it are alleys as long as the eye can reach, crossing each other ; others of the length of the street bordered with cypresses. At the extremity, on the most eminent spot, is a large stream, beyond which is a wall, which encloses the whole. A number of large streets, scarcely second to this in beauty, cross the city in different parts ; these it will be needless to describe, what I have mentioned being sufficient to give an idea of the Chiahâr-bagh, and shew it truly royal and magnificent ; and placing it much before the Del popolo at Rome, or the Poggio Reale at Naples, the street out of Genoa, or the Monreale at Palermo.

This city possesses other curiosities which are not marvellous, but for their singularity deserve notice. Among these a minar, or tower, whence the hour is proclaimed to the people at the King's stables, to call to prayers. This minar is built entirely of the heads of wild goats and other animals killed in one general hunting-match, given either by the present King or some of his family, and exhibits a remarkable specimen of the whimsical fancy of the Persians, in which characteristic, I understand, none excel His Majesty himself, the number of instances he has afforded in proof of this being sufficient to fill a volume ; some of them on a future occasion I shall communicate. In addition to this, the first hall of the royal palace, where the King usually receives ambassadors or guests, and in which he entertains and holds conference with them ; I say the first hall, because the palace where the King resides is distant at the bottom of the garden ; and into this, according to the custom of the Princes of the East, very rarely is any one admitted ; but in the grand square, the Meidan, over the gate of the first entrance, there is a pavilion, which,



which, as I before have noticed, is rather pretty or handsome than magnificent. This is the building destined for the purposes I have observed. When the King comes hither it is always on horseback, through a wide alley between two rows of very high walls, reaching from the gate of entrance to the palace where he resides. The utmost reverence is shewn to the gate of entrance, so much so, that no one presumes to tread on a certain step of wood in it somewhat elevated, but, on the contrary, people kiss it occasionally as a precious and holy thing. To the apartments over the entrance you ascend by a narrow staircase, which does not please my fancy. These consist of a small room in the middle on each story, of which there are several, surrounded by small anti-chambers: on the side fronting the Meidan, and that opposite to it, are small balconies after their manner, to allow, while seated on the floor, a prospect of the neighbourhood. There are in this place so many apartments, cabinets, and passages conducting to them, that I was assured by the parties, there were no less than five hundred doors in the house, although small, in this particular resembling the rooms themselves.

The beauty of this house consists in its walls, which are enriched with gilding from the ceiling to the floor, with excellent miniature paintings in various colours, with dark ornaments, which have a very fine effect, and the more so, the walls being of a shining white, resembling satin. The domes likewise are loaded with decorations, gilding, rich colours, sculpture, and alti-relievi, in different compartments, and without confusion; and are well worthy our imitation in Italy.

On the walls of the different apartments are panels at intervals, on which various figures are painted, but as they are unacquainted with history or mythology, all their pictures are representations of men and women, either single or together, in lascivious postures standing, drinking with bottles and cups in their hands; some overcome with wine and sleeping, others reeling, in short, displays of the votaries of Venus and Bacchus. Among these, mostly dressed in the costume of the country, are some with hats, intended to represent Europeans, apparently designed to intimate that Persians are not the only ones addicted to wine. These figures, notwithstanding they be painted in extremely rich colours, are badly drawn, the painters of the country being far behind ours; I was in consequence apprehensive of losing mine, if the King should chance to learn his merit.

I had yet to see the Gul-i-staun, or garden of roses, but defer visiting it until in perfection. No one when the King is present is suffered to view the apartments of the palace; now, however, that he is away, individuals such as ourselves are secretly admitted. In it I noticed the workmen very busy, altering and completing the works not yet finished. On days of ceremony alone certain persons are admitted to converse on business with the Shah. Others who do not enter ride on horseback before the palace, waiting for the King's appearance, who every day rides out also on horseback into the middle of the Meidan, when sometimes he amuses himself in conversing with each individual; at others exercises his horse backwards and forwards on the square; at others again, listens to any one who wishes to address him. Occasionally he has refreshments brought him into the middle of the square. Now he takes an airing in a different part, accompanied by his courtiers; at other times, and most frequently, he rides by himself among the bazars, to see what is passing.

In Hispahan, besides lions, tigers, and other similar animals which are common, I saw three elephants, a present to the King from India; they were but small. The manner of their guiding and punishing them is extraordinary. They use for this purpose a stick pointed with iron at one end, with which the keeper pricks them, and at the other with a crooked piece of iron, with which he tickles the inside of the ear, or scratches them be-



tween the ears, without sparing the flesh. I shall now proceed to describe the country of Persia; its inhabitants, manners; its military, and officers.

The country in the neighbourhood of Hispahan is fertile and the air temperate, notwithstanding its inequality, it being a mixture of vales and mountains, not connected but standing separate; so that frequently a very lofty and rocky mountain rises in midst of a beautiful and extensive meadow.

The inhabitants of Persia are of several descriptions. They consist, firstly, of strangers of various countries, who resort thither to traffic, of whom the Indians are the most numerous; among these some Banyans, chiefly from the Guzurat, which formerly belonged to the King, but is now dependent on the Grand Mogul; of these ■ part profess Islamism, the religion of the King of Lahòr, sovereign at this time of the greatest part of India; while the others are Gentiles adoring numerous idols. The religion of the Persians is also various. Some are Gaurs, or Guebres, and are said, on account of the extraordinary care with which they preserve it, to adore fire; however, as I proceed I shall be more diffuse on their head. I shall only just remark, that these are the descendants of the ancient Persians who lived in the time of Alexander; but having suffered materially by the wars waged by different sovereigns against them, they are now reduced to ■ handful of people, dispersed through three or four of the cities of Persia, of which Hispahan is one, where they live separate in one of the quarters I have described, which is to be united to Hispahan, and render it a capital city comprized of four so near to each other as only to be separated by the breadth of the beautiful street, the Chiahâr-bagh, and the river which crosses it. The disposition of them is as follows: Hispahan lays north of the river and east of the street; on the opposite side of the street, on the west, is Abbasabad. On the south side of the river, in the angle opposite to Abbasabad, is Chiòlfa, and adjoining this and opposite to Hispahan is Gabrabad, inhabited by the Guebres, the Gentiles I have just mentioned.

There are, moreover, Christians of different sects; Syrians, Georgians in much greater abundance, and an infinite number of Armenians. These latter are extremely rich, carrying on most of the commerce of the country, particularly that with Turkey: besides these the Mahometans, who may be ranked in two different classes, the one common and general, called properly Agemi, or Agiami: these are Mahometans descended from the ancient Persians, who changed their religion with their government, and are likewise called Tat, that is, a vassal and cowardly race; the other Kizilbashi, comprising the soldiery and the nobility, who are now in high esteem. Agem is the general name for the empire of Persia; Farsistaun, or Parsistaun, whence Persia is derived, denoting regularly no more than a province, although by acceptation it be used in common with Agem for the whole. The Kizilbashi come originally from Turkey, and subdued and governed the country for ■ long time with absolute sway, until the assumption of the empire by an ancestor of His present Majesty. This personage, the forefather of Shah Abbas, was by origin an Arab of the race of Mahomet, who becoming powerful by means of the Turkish soldiery, and tired of submission to their sovereigns, by acquiring the reputation of a saint, and, lastly, by confirming himself in the esteem of all by new opinions which he introduced into the law, he deprived the Turks of their sway, but did not disqualify them from the use of arms, or the management of affairs under the will of the Kings who have since ruled.

Ismael Sofi, which was the name of the first King of this dynasty, having a number of followers among the Turcomans, who adopted the tenets of this disciple of Ali, in order to distinguish his sectaries, gave the Turks who fought under his banners ■ red cap to wear under their turban, surmounted by a knot with twelve small plaits about it, in



remembrance of the twelve descendants of Ali, whom they revere as their apostles, and the chiefs of their sect. These descendants are called by the title of Imami, signifying sovereign pontiff of the faith. This sect was called Sonnites, and reigned under the specious and superb name of Califs, that is to say, successors of Mahomet in spiritual as well as temporal affairs; preserving their empire for a long time, first in Damascus and afterwards in Bagdad.

To his Turkish followers Ismael gave the name of Kizilbashi, that is to say, red heads, on account of the cap in which he dressed them; and entered Persia, then much divided. As at this time it was parted into many signories, whose chiefs were perpetually at war, he found it no difficult task to make himself master of the whole. From this Ismael the reigning Prince descends in a direct line, and among his other titles is called Sheich zadi, or son of the Scheich, that is to say, of that man so much renowned for sanctity. On some solemn occasions, I understand it is usual for the King himself to wear this red cap, called tag, or crown, which is a mark of the wearer belonging to the army, and of nobility.

The Kizilbashi are likewise of two sorts. The one the heirs of their predecessors, who inherit from father to son the dignity and rank of their sires in the army, the other occasionally appointed by the King, whose subjects or slaves of whatsoever nation they may be, if established in the country and enrolled among the Kizilbashi, become thereby naturalized and ennobled, they and their posterity. Sometimes also His Majesty, as a token of his esteem for a foreigner, makes him a Kizilbashi, by bestowing on him the tag, this, however, is rarely the case: in fifteen years, that a gentleman speaking to me on the subject had resided in the country, he had known but once of such an occurrence, in the instance of Sir Robert Shirley, who received this honour upon his going as ambassador from the court of Persia to Rome.

All the Kizilbashi bear the title of Bey, or lord, but their captains, commanding mostly a hundred men, are called Luzbashi, or chief of a hundred. These Luzbashi are inferior to Sultans. In Turkey this title signifies King, but in Persia a general of an army, or commandant of a city, or some strong place. A Khan is lord over several of these Sultans; this name is also that which Kings assume among the Turks, but with the Persians it answers to Viceroy, or governor of a province, possessing, however, absolute authority, and nominating at pleasure all the officers under him as well civil as military, subject to no other orders of the King in his province than what regard the number of his people to be drafted for war, or matters relative to the state. Among the Sultans there are likewise some of the most powerful, although the number of these be small, who, acknowledging no superior jurisdiction of a Khan, depend immediately on the King. All these officers hold their appointments at the will of the King; in Persia, however, according to ancient custom, they are seldom displaced from caprice when they do their duty, but when removed it is usually to assume some higher station as a reward for their services.

The King in general grants the dignity of Khan to a subject not for his life alone, the children most frequently inheriting, so that there are families in which this dignity has descended for two hundred years, whence their subjects look on them rather as their true and legitimate lords than as officers of the King, or ministers of the state. I understand, however, that the present King is disposed to annihilate this custom, on account of these gentlemen being too absolute in their districts, as he experienced at the beginning of his reign. Except, however, the government of provinces, cities, and large towns, the children inherit from their parents whatever they possessed; but as a token of submission and dependence, the son, on the death of his father, gives a declaration to



the King of what the deceased died worth, as well in moveables as immoveables, when, in case of any thing pleasing His Majesty, he takes it, and leaves the rest. If, on the contrary, the conduct of the defunct should have been defective and treacherous to the state, confiscation then ensues, and the King takes all.

Persia has a number of these Khans, some more powerful than others. The most eminent is that of Shiras, the metropolis of Persia Proper, situated about twelve leagues from the spot where stood the famous city of Persepolis, demolished in a drunken bout by Alexander, and the residence of the Magi, who followed the star to Bethlehem, in order to adore Christ, capital of the province of Fars; its peculiar government is very large, extending to the sea of Hormouz, some days' journey from Hispahan.

The Khan can send twenty-five thousand horse into the field; and his province, as I am assured by people conversant in the matter, is of much greater extent than Portugal. In Hispahan, the capital of Irak, Casbin, a principal city also of Irak, and in some other considerable cities there is no Khan, these places being royal cities. In these the King has his palaces, furnished with slaves, women, and every requisite; this, on account of his residing rarely for any length of time at one place, and the inconvenience attendant on journeying with a large train. He takes pleasure in travelling occasionally with only two or three attendants, excellently mounted; their horses journeying with such speed as to perform in the space of five or six nearly thirty days' journey. On this account, he has constantly some of these horses ready saddled and bridled in his stables, the hour or even minute of his departure being ever uncertain.

It is now, however, time to turn from public matters to my own concerns. On Sunday 12th of March, Father John, the vicar-general of the Carmelites, availed himself of the departure of a courier, who left this place for the camp where the King is, to inform the King's steward of the household, or Mehimandar, of my arrival, and that I remained at Hispahan, waiting for intelligence whether His Majesty was on his return, or, if not, where I might join him. We shall, no doubt, have an answer to this letter, which will determine my stay or departure hence.

On the same day I was visited by two ladies of quality, Christians of the Georgian church, resident in Hispahan. They possessed considerable property in their own country, but owing to the suddenness with which the army of Abbas, consisting of one hundred thousand men, fell upon their estates, they had no time to escape, as did Trimuraz Khan; but following the example of a relation of theirs, a governor, they surrendered themselves to the King. Preserving themselves stedfast in their faith, they shut themselves out from the bounty of the King, and, having sold all their slaves and property for subsistence, are reduced to accept of the eleemosynary aid of the monks who reside here. Touched by their misfortunes and noble demeanor, we became much attached to them. The natives of the country whence they come have ever been famous as good soldiers; the country itself, I understand is beautiful, and much resembles the finest parts of Lombardy.

I find an inconvenience in keeping Lent here, owing to the want of fish in the few and very small rivers which Persia can boast, and the distance of the sea in any part from Hispahan. The Mediterranean being sixty, the Persian Gulph thirty, and the Caspian Sea twenty days' journey distant. The fish we eat at present comes from the Caspian, and (perhaps on account of there being no other) appears to me excellent; when, however, we may without scruple eat meat, we shall fare extremely well, there being here of all descriptions in abundance. In Hispahan, where living is dear, for a piastre of Spain (the money most in esteem throughout all the East) you have five or six fat pullets; but on the road when travelling, in several places the same sum paid for



for provender for the mules and horses, and food for four-and-twenty persons we had with us. As for fruits, it may suffice to tell you that we are now living on most excellent melons, and have been for this month past, whether owing to the care with which they are preserved, their being sown late, or of a different species I know not; yet from the excellence and purity of the air or the dryness of the earth suiting and preserving them, they are eaten here all the winter, and at that period are of a most delicious flavour.

\*At the drug shops, I have found a matter sold here under the name of Hamama, of which I send you a specimen, I do not however conceive it to be the amomum we look for; of the larger cardamom also, which I was solicitous of meeting with, understanding it much resembled the amomum, I send you a parcel. Whether it be the amomum as I conceived or another species of cardamom unknown to us, I am satisfied there is none of the sort in Italy, as it is not to be procured in Turkey, and is very rare here. It possibly may be dear; I shall however obtain as much of it as possible. There are here a thousand other drugs from India, Cathay, and other places; as, however, I am not a connoisseur in this article, and have nobody who can give me information on the matter, I know not how to make a collection.

In the packet, you will likewise find a small branch of a shrub, which instead of leaves or flowers, as you will distinguish, produces filaments of a lightish green colour, which yields a very refreshing liquor held as a sovereign remedy for alleviating the heat of fevers; in addition it is of a very grateful smell. It is called bidmisk or the musk fallow, owing to its resemblance in fragrance to musk and its being deemed a species of willow.

The day of the vernal equinox, called here Neu rouz, or new day, is one of great festivity in Persia. On this day, mutual presents are made, and gifts are tendered on the part of dependants to their superiors, and of the whole kingdom, and the ministers to the King; every one appears in new dresses, feasts are given, and greater freedom and more diversions reign than on other occasions, the country about the town being all alive from the number of parties enjoying themselves. These entertainments continue for several days; and in these the Indians participate, erecting tents in the courts of the caravanferai, where they pass the night in singing and dancing. The astronomers here, if I mistake not, differ from us in the ascertainment of the day of the equinox, but as it is not yet come, I shall be better able to speak of this hereafter. Astronomy is so well known in Persia, that there is not a soldier in the army, however ignorant he may be, but without consulting the tacuim, or almanac, he wears at his breast, can readily tell what conjunction or opposition of planets occur on any particular day, and is equally prompt at other matters. The King is constantly attended by a judicial astrologer, and undertakes nothing ere he has first consulted him. Those among this people also who prefer the peaceful muses to the noisy god of war possess much genius, and produce enchanting compositions. Among these are many of great nobility, and even of Royal blood, who are styled Mirza; that is to say, sons of Princes; and these are the real nobility of Persia, although degraded for policy's sake, and neither soldiers or Kizilbashi. They delight much in study, and compared with the rest of orientals are very learned; yet not equally so with our men of intelligence.

Methinks I have said and written a great deal, the short time of my residence here considered, and the little knowledge of the country I have hitherto acquired. I shall conclude, therefore, begging you not to wonder at the confusion of my letter, as I have written precipitately as the matter flowed; I hope nevertheless that the information



it affords may be serviceable, as from the evidence I have had of your genius, I am aware that it will not be difficult for you to extract order from the chaos of my writing, and give it a new and more regular form.

*Hispahan, March 17, 1617.*

It escaped my memory to mention two things, with which it is fit you should be made acquainted, the one, that the title of Kizilbashi is common not only to the soldiers and nobles, but, in common with Fars and Ajem, to the country itself; it is however more in use among the Turks and foreigners than the natives themselves; the other, that in Persia, by a particular and very ancient privilege, liberty of opinion is allowed to all, each following the religion his conscience dictates, and living as he pleases under protection of the law. Hence each nation has a distinct quarter of residence as I have described of Hispahan. Moreover they are allowed to administer justice according to their own laws in civil as well as criminal cases, the courts of His Majesty having scarcely any jurisdiction over them. This right indeed is so prevalent at present, that not only distinct nations but even ambassadors of Princes, the King's guests, and others of similar description, exercise a similar authority, not only over their own servants, but also over those who may be subject to them only for a time. The priors of convents enjoy the same privilege.

I must further remark that whatever be the crime of an individual who flies for refuge from justice to the palace of the King, it is a sacred asylum. At present there is a man of quality whom the King was desirous of putting to death for some state treason; but being quick enough to enter the palace (although if he made but a step without the gate, he would instantly be put to death without further process) he is secure from every violence. None is refused admittance to the palace, but on passing the threshold, which he kisses, as I have before remarked, he has claim of protection. This threshold in short is in such veneration, that its name of Aftanè is the denomination for the court and the Royal palace itself. Thus by adding the term doulet, or prosperity, Aftanè y doulet means the court of prosperity. The palace is also called Doulet chanè, the house of prosperity.

Here, likewise, it may be proper I should mention that the present King has instituted corps of infantry called fusileers, as better adapted than cavalry for besieging and defending fortresses: these, however, have no red knot, and are not Kizilbashi or gentlemen, and are commanded by captains. Of these, at present, there are some in all his dominions, and in every province. They do not, however follow the army, as its march is too rapid for their accompaniment.

Letter the second of Pietro delle Valle combats the objections raised by Signor Schipuno against compiling an account of his travels; and a discourse intended to be delivered by him to the Academy of Humourists, not being material to the description of Persia, it has been omitted.

### LETTER III.

*Hispahan, December 8, 1617.*

IN my preceding letters from this city of the month of March last, I described to you my journey hither from Bagdad, and so much of the curiosities of Hispahan, and matters in general respecting Persia, that at present I have little information to afford you. I promised in one of these to give you on some future occasion more particulars respecting the Guebres. A few days ago I visited their new city, the position of which I have



I have before described. It is called the Guebristun; or the place of the infidels. It is well built, the streets very wide, straight, and much handsomer than those of Chiòlfa, having been constructed since them with more experience and attention: none of the houses however have more than a ground floor, and all are destitute of ornament, corresponding with the poverty of their inhabitants, and differing from those of Chiòlfa, which are magnificent. The Guebres follow no trade, but earn their livelihood by rustic occupations with much labour and fatigue. They wear all the same kind of dress, and of the same colour, that of cement made of brick-dust.

These people bear great resemblance to the Persians of the present day, but are coarsely built; they wear a round cap generally white, without any mixture of colours, of a fanciful shape like that of the modern Persians: they do not however like these shave the cheeks and chin, but suffer their beard to grow like the Turks, and wear their hair long like women, precisely in the same manner as their ancestors are represented to have done by Herodotus. The women likewise dress all alike; their costume however more resembles that of the Arabs or Chaldeans than the Persian; it much resembles the frock usually worn with us by pilgrims, but without any girdle or collar. Their dress is improved by a veil which they wear over the head, of a greenish yellow. This is very long and wide, of the same fashion as those worn by the Arabian and Chaldee women, which, covering the face, they suffer to float in the wind, as low as the waist, and hang down to the ground behind. In the streets they go with their face uncovered, differing in this respect from the Mahometans.

According to what I gathered from one of their sect, a simple and uninformed being, they have a distinct language, varying, as well as the characters, from the Persian of the present day; I was however unable to learn from him whether or no like the Latins they write from left to right, nor any particulars concerning their sacred fire. He told me, however, that they pray three times a day, at sun-rise, noon, and sun-set; that they adore one Supreme Being, creator of all things visible and invisible; and on my stating that we had a direct contrary opinion of their belief, "How?" said his wife, who was standing by: "Gracious God! we not know thee. Make me thy sacrifice! (a common expression with them) Who ever saw thee, or knows how thou existeth?" Whence I conceive them not to be idolaters as they are represented. They acknowledged indeed that they revered the sun and moon as angels, but of inferior degree. They detest Mahomet, looking on him as an impostor, and his followers as infidels; nor call themselves Guebres, as termed by the Mahometans, but Behen-din (of the true faith). They have great abhorrence of frogs, tortoises, crabs, and other similar animals, which they say infect water, and kill them whenever they find them; probably land-insects also and vermin, such as serpents, ants, and the like; in this conforming with the practice of the Magi, as related by Herodotus. They do not burn their dead, but place them upright with their eyes open, in which posture they leave them to decay, or be devoured by crows. I shall endeavour, on some other occasion, to obtain more ample information respecting this people.

Four things curious enough in themselves I have remarked while in Hispahan. The first, the practice of the people here on the occasion of the total eclipse of the moon on the 16th of August last. Upon this event, the whole population got on the flat roofs of the houses, rending the air with their noise and songs, and the sound of brass pans, either to frighten the animal about to devour the moon, or to strengthen her in her sufferings in passing through a door or very narrow passage. Similar superstition exists in Turkey, but here I was surprized at finding the people so ignorant, learning prevailing here much more than in Turkey.



The second, I noticed in visiting Houssein culi Mirza, a near relation of the King, and descended according to report in even a more direct line from Ali and Mahomet than even His Majesty himself. In his Divan-Chanè, that is to say, the hall that serves for an audience-chamber and eating-room when strangers are invited, was a recess as is common in all grand houses, the palaces of the King not excepted; the Divan Chanè is generally in some low story, yet commanding a view either of gardens or courts, and is open in front like our galleries or porticos: in the recess I speak of, their victuals is cooked in the presence of the guests, with the greatest nicety and cleanliness imaginable, without any fire, smoak, or dirt of any description common to kitchens, disgusting the eye. Opposite to the entrance is this recess, which is a broad and long niche, resembling a small tribunal in our churches, lined all round from top to bottom, and the floor entirely covered with varnished shining tiles of different colours, on which are represented with much taste either figures or very handsome and well-painted flowers; the walls of the hall are also covered with tiles of similar description, but only to the height of about three feet, for guests to lean against sitting on carpets. The walls in the East being bare of furniture, on the floor of the recess are small openings, purposely left for large dishes or other suitable vessels to be placed upon, in which the victuals is cooked; the fire to heat them is under ground, but so disposed as to allow a vent for the smoak as well as the flame, which is invisible in the apartment; and notwithstanding this, over these holes their meat is extremely well cooked, and even roasted, or rather baked. Amid these holes rises a small fountain of pure water, which serves for cleansing the meat, and afterwards runs off by two canals which are concealed, and takes away every species of filth, so that the most delicate eye can receive no offence.

This mode of cooking in presence of the party invited is less, I believe, for the convenience itself, than a precaution against poison. Owing to an apprehension of attempts of this kind, is it, in my opinion, that the King does so many things which ignorant people tax as whimsical and unworthy of Majesty; such for example as cooking for himself, which is common with him, particularly the fish or game he has himself caught or killed. On such occasions, he will dissect the animal he has destroyed with the greatest nicety, separating with so much epicurism the daintiest morsels, as to collect no more from the carcase than a pound in small slices, which he seasons with different ingredients that are grateful to his palate, and makes of it when cooked a most hearty regale. At other times he will dine in the streets from cooks' shops wherever any grateful odour salutes him from the steaming kitchens. In this he is not particular, many individuals, on account of the superior cooking at these shops, being served from them with their meals. Again, in riding along His Majesty will enter a house, and dine on whatever the family may have provided for itself.

The third matter worthy of remark is an annual solemnity in memory of the death of Ali, which is celebrated on the 21st of the month Ramadhan, on which occasion there are two processions by two of their congregations, each of them accompanied by a great part of the city, and a number of the nobles of the kingdom; when in the city, the King even follows in either the one or other of them. The first rank in the procession is filled by a number of horses covered with ornaments peculiar to the country; on their saddles are trophies of bows and arrows, swords, and shields; and on the pommel of the saddle, a turban representing the arms of Ali. These are followed by a number of colours, pikes and lances of extraordinary length, with bandroles, supported with difficulty by the men who carry them on foot; these, so long that the weight of the end causes them to bend, are possibly meant to represent part of the arms



of Ali, and designate his immense bulk. Afterwards follows a bier, and sometimes a number of biers, of black velvet, and covered with trophies of various arms, offensive and defensive, raised very high and surmounted with tufts of feathers and other similar decorations. These biers are accompanied by a number of singers, with cymbals, gongs, and fifes, with which they make the air resound, leaping about incessantly, and roaring out with all their might in a most hideous manner. People of quality go on horseback in the procession, the mob, which is extremely numerous, on foot.

This procession marches round the Meidan or great square, which I have before described and stops for a while before the Royal palace, and again before the principal mosque opposite; whence after certain prayers each repairs to his home. The Vizier of Hispahan on the one part, and the King's treasurer on the other, appear on the square, each attended by a number of cavaliers, who clear the way of the crowd. It is their special care also to prevent quarrels between the two processions on account of precedence, which sometimes happen, and terminate in the loss of lives.

The fourth object I have to notice is the Feast of Roses, which lasts the whole time of their remaining in bloom. During this period you see nothing but dancing to the sound of various instruments in all the public places, by night as well as by day, and people regaling themselves with coffee. A number of young children also in the coffee-houses display their agility in a loose and lascivious manner, and run about the streets in the neighbourhood of the Meidan, attended by others carrying flambeaux and chandeliers full of lights, who scatter roses on all they meet, receiving money in return. In other parts men and women repair without the city, where they take refreshments, and amuse themselves with throwing roses at each other. This feast of roses appears to me a remnant of the ancient festivities held in honour of Flora, in the same season of the year.

As for the temperature of the air in this country, both the heat and cold are very tolerable, notwithstanding, in the open sunshine, the warmth far surpasses that of Italy. The cold is never very intense, although in the months of January and February, the only ones of winter, there falls a quantity of snow. It rains so seldom, that, from the time of my arrival up to December, I have never remarked more than once a few drops in the beginning of autumn. Owing to this dryness, and the mild and refreshing breezes which frequently prevail, the air is incomparably pure and salubrious; whence nobody retires to close apartments to sleep in the summer, (that is from May to September,) but take repose on the floor of their houses, without any counterpane of mats, as is usual in the rest of Asia, and several parts of the Archipelago, or any other covering whatsoever, but wholly exposed to the open air. Others, however, not inclined to rise with the lark, retire to the Divan-chanè, fronting their courts or gardens.

The dryness and natural sterility of the earth, which contains a quantity of nitre, exacts of the husbandman considerable care and abundance of manure. In this country they use indifferently the dung of cattle and men, and such is the demand for the latter, that instead of its costing any thing to have privies emptied, the servants receive a handsome compensation from those who take away the soil. From the drought and requisiteness of water, great pains are taken to obtain it, and bring it from considerable distance for irrigating the lands; by which means, and by the addition of compost, the fructifying influence of the sun produces almost every thing in this climate. If any thing be wanting produced in other countries, it is less owing to the ignorance of the inhabitants, or the want of value for such articles on their part, than the incapacity of the amended soil or the climate to yield them. Above all the delicate or delicious



fruits which grow in this country, that which in my esteem excels the rest is a kind of apricot, called by the Persians, to distinguish it from other species, by a mixed word half Arabic half Persian, *tokhm esk-shems*, signifying sun's seed.

Melons here are eaten nine months out of the twelve, and are of an exquisite flavour; grapes all the year round; of these there is a species called *chiskmisk*, of a greenish colour, oblong, and without stones. This, either fresh or dry, is delicious, either by itself or mixed with their different dishes, particularly *pilião*. Here is likewise found a certain sort of pulse called *mask*, unknown in Italy, and excellent: it is of a greenish colour, not much larger than lentils, not so flat, more resembling a pea in shape, but not of equal size.

As I have nothing further to write to you of matters relative to Persia in general, I shall give some account of my individual affairs, knowing as I do that they will not be indifferent to you. First, then, I enjoy good health, am somewhat leaner than formerly, of which I know not the cause; it is not occasioned by the heat, for it agrees with me, not to over exercise; for I have been almost idle for ten months back. Is it owing to my being married? I cannot think so; for when much more plump than at present, I was not less the servant of the ladies. Possibly it may be owing to the different food. *Hispahan* becomes wearisome to me in the absence of the court and all the nobility, notwithstanding its beauties and population; and were it not for the conversation of some among the good fathers which has kept me alive, I should surely have died of the spleen.

However, thank God, I am on the eve of leaving it to join the King, wherever he may be, and for the purpose have already provided myself with tents, horses, camels, carriages, and other requisites; since I as shall have to follow the army, I must carry my house with me *à la Scythe*, and be provided with horses to harness to the carriages at an instant's notice, either by night or day. I have therefore a chain of camels, (a chain consists of seven) but am fearful as my baggage is weighty these will scarcely suffice. I have chosen them of a Persian race, on account of their being best fitted for fatigue; hardy, and capable of enduring the winters of Armenia, where usually the army encamps. The camels of Persia differ from those of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, or any other country; are stronger, larger, and have more hair on the neck and legs. I take but four saddle-horses with me, which will be sufficient for myself and those I most regard; as for war-horses and horses of parade, I shall meet with them on the spot, superior and cheaper than any I can purchase here. All that I wait for now is the making of certain dresses, and horse accoutrements, which I must take with me hence. All my liveries are complete; they are red and yellow, and will I trust appear novel and extraordinary at court, as it is not usual to dress servants in this manner; I may thus set a fashion eventually, as the Persians are great imitators. The King, as I have before noticed, has long been apprized of my arrival, and I understand from the Augustin monk and the English resident returned from court, (whither the latter had gone for the Royal decision on a difference between himself and the Portuguese resident,) that His Majesty made many enquiries respecting me and signified that he was impatient to see me.

Enough of my preparations; I must now proceed to give you a description of the solemn sacrifice of the camel, at which I was present out of curiosity a short time ago. The first day of the Little Bairane or Mahometan Easter, called likewise the Bairane del Curban, or of the sacrifice in commemoration of the sacrifice of Abraham. It fell this year on the 9th of December. The Mahometans are accustomed to make sacrifice of a number of victims on this occasion, on the 10th day of the moon in their  
twelfth



twelfth month, called by them *Di'l hadjè* and kill several lambs in their own houses, part of which they eat, and give the rest to the poor; but in the principal cities, or wherever the King happens to be, a camel is sacrificed; the Persians reputing the animal slain by Abraham in lieu of his son, whom they say was Ishmael and not Isaac, to have been a camel, and not a ram as stated in scripture. The Turks, however, read the text after our manner, and ridicule the sacrifice of the camel.

The ceremony of the sacrifice of the camel is as follows. Three days previously, a female camel is led all over the city crowned with flowers, such as violets, and many similar still in bloom, together with different herbs, among which I noticed a branch of the pine, accompanied by a great concourse playing on cymbals and fifes. A mulla, or doctor of the law, follows, who at intervals chants their confession of faith and certain prayers. The people as she passes by pull off hair from her, which they preserve as a relic.

On the third day, which is ushered in with the sound of trumpets, cymbals, and other instruments, particular prayers, and where possible, by discharges of artillery; after prayers, all the nobility, and the King, if he be on the spot, together with the people, a mingled mass of all descriptions, some on foot and others on horseback, repair without the city. In Hispahan, the place where the ceremony is performed, is a large square or esplanade, full two miles from the gates. Here a large circle is formed, the inner rows of which are occupied by the most distinguished persons, in their richest and most superb dresses; all the people being habited in their best. Here they wait the arrival of the victim, which is first conducted round the town again in the manner before described. Before the camel a lance is carried, or rather a zagay, handsomely mounted with steel at the end, with which she is to be slain. As soon as she arrives at the destined spot, she is driven into the circle, and surrounded by a number of the people resident about Hispahan, as well as others. After placing her in the posture requisite, one of the most considerable personages present, (this year Haider Sultan, captain of the gate of the King's haram,) magnificently dressed and covered with ornaments, takes the lance, and, as she lays on the right side, back-handedly pierces her through the heart. Immediately the people about throw themselves upon the victim, and with swords, knives, hatchets, or any other cutlery they may have, separate it into a thousand pieces; the mob, armed with bludgeons, disputing for participation. After the division, in determining which cudgel-logic is of much more efficacy than oratory, the mob tumultuously return to their various homes.

Part of the flesh of this animal is cooked and eaten with great devotion, the rest salted and preserved throughout the year, is regarded as a remedy for all kinds of infirmities. The head was sent to the King, the quarters are distributed all over the city and the various villages adjoining, the number of which within a circle round Hispahan of from twelve to fifteen miles is more than a thousand.

On account of the absence of the court, few people of high rank were present; the number was confined to the Vizier of Hispahan the prime minister, Haider Sultan before-mentioned, and Melek Bey, who likewise is Melek Ettùgiar, or king of the merchants.

Lala Bey the great treasurer was to have been present, but receiving orders from the King, he departed from Hispahan some days before. He invited me to accompany him, but as my doing so would have subjected me to many ceremonial inconveniences, I excused myself on account of not having every thing ready, which was actually the fact. I begged of him, however, to leave one of his servants with me to escort me on the road, whose presence may do me credit, and be of service to me.



The Vizier likewise has promised to furnish me with a letter of credit, and engages for my being well received by the governors and officers of the cities and towns through which I shall have to pass. From appearance, therefore, no more than one thing will be wanting to me, and that a companion of my own country, to take part in my adventures, and share my pleasures. You must know I have no one any longer about me from Italy, or even from Europe, having been obliged to rid myself of the only two I had, the one a Venetian whom I engaged at Aleppo, the other a Flemish painter. My present household consists of Asiatics entirely, among which one old man as major domo, and haram kie kaifi, or keeper of the women; one Armenian Christian as a harbinger, and three Chaldeans, one a cook, another a running footman, and the third as yet without an office.

The King has already taken up his winter-quarters, and although yet uninformed of where, I expect to find him in Mazanderan, a province which makes a part of Hircania, or rather Media, in a certain city on the Caspian Sea, which he has lately caused to be built, called Ferhabad, a word composed of Arabic and Persian, and signifying colony of gladness. The King is much delighted with this city, and takes a pleasure in augmenting and giving it every possible embellishment. It already is considered as the metropolis of that province; surpassing by much every other in reputation and grandeur.

We shall, therefore, direct our course to Hircania, and visit the Caspian Sea, whence I shall not fail to write to you. I kiss your hands.

In the third letter, of which the preceding is an extract, much extraneous matter occurring, either relative to India, gathered from the accounts of others, historical relations generally known, or communications of a personal nature not interesting to the reader, they, as well as many repetitions, are omitted in the translation.

#### LETTER IV.

*From Ferhabad the beginning of May 1618,  
and Cazvin the 25th July following.*

SHORTLY before my departure from Hispahan, I addressed a letter to you, in which I gave an exact account of my travels up to that time. As I am constantly mindful of the promise I made you, I shall continue to relate occurrences as they happen, detail my progress through the countries I visit, and the curiosities I meet with. With this view I have to inform you, that on the 30th of December last, while yet at Hispahan, the Mahometans perceiving the new moon on the previous evening (the beginning of their day, after the manner of the Jews) began to celebrate the first day of the month Muharrem, the beginning of their new year, the 1027th of the Hegira, that is to say, the flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, on account of his being ignominiously driven thence for introducing his new opinions and false religion. In consequence, this day was the first of the Ashur, or the ten, during which the Persians give public and authentic demonstrations of their regret for the death of the unfortunate Hussein, the son of Ali and Fatima the daughter of the Prophet.

This Hussein, canonized by the Mahometans and acknowledged by the Persians as the true Iman and sovereign chief of their sect, and from whom the present Kings of Persia boast of being descended, was attacked on his way by those of the opposite fac-

tion,



tion, and, together with from seventy to eighty of his followers, was massacred in the deserts of Arabia at a place called Kirbulæ, where he is interred. His sepulchre is still in high veneration, and his death bewailed with certain ceremonies. During the Ashur nothing is heard but lamentations, most of the people wearing black, a colour they never assume at any other time. No one during this period either shaves or bathes, and all scrupulously follow the prescriptions of the Koran, abstaining from every kind of sensuality, all pleasures, and all diversion. Many of the poorer sort are accustomed to bury themselves up to the mouth in the streets, covering their heads with a vase, over which earth is deposited, and remain thus from dawn till sunset, and even during part of the night, other poor persons sitting by the while, and asking alms of passengers.

Others again run naked about the streets, with only their privities concealed with a piece of black cloth or sacking of a dark colour, their flesh daubed over with shining blacking, so as to resemble as many devils. These are accompanied by others painted red, in token of Hussein dying covered with blood, and collectively they sing in a mournful strain the praise of Hussein, and descriptions of his martyrdom, beating time with two pieces of wood or ribs of certain animals, which produce a melancholy sound, and dancing all the while in midst of the crowd. Sometimes they unite with mountebanks, selling their theriaca, thus gathering money from the spectators.

Every day at noon one of their mulla, of the race of Mahomet, repairs to the spot where these exhibitions go forward. This mulla is not called an emir, as at Constantinople, nor a sherife, as in Egypt, but from an Arabic word *seidi* or *monsieur*. This mulla, then, dressed on this occasion in a green turban, of which colour it is never worn by the Persians at any other time, mounts an elevated pulpit, where seated in midst of a number of people, men as well as women, either on the floor or very low seats, he recites a panegyric on the virtues of Hussein, and describes the manner of his death; exhibiting occasionally to the people, extremely attentive to what he says, certain figures representing the circumstances to which he alludes, and endeavouring to excite their commiseration and tears. This ceremony is likewise copied in the mosques, and the most public parts of the streets, which are adorned and illuminated for the purpose: the audience all the while bathed in tears, sighing and moaning, beating their breasts and displaying the greatest affliction, frequently repeat with much expression of agony these last verses of one of their poetic monodies, *Va Hussein! Shah Hussein! Alas Hussein! the Shah Hussein!*

On the tenth day, the day on which the murder was effected, there are processions in every quarter of the city, resembling those on the commemoration of the death of Ali, with similar ceremonies, except those on a certain camel three or four young children are placed in panniers, in memory of those of the defunct who were thrown in prison, singing mournful ditties. There are likewise biers covered with black velvet surmounted by the tag. On some even are a green turban and a sword. The trophies, similar to those in the procession for Ali, are carried on the heads of men, who dance incessantly to the sounds of cymbals and gongs, turning continually as they dance, and keeping time with much grace. The country people from the neighbourhood accompany the train with cudgels, to use where occasion against those in other processions whom they may chance to encounter, not only to secure to their assemblage a precedency, but also in commemoration of the strife in which Hussein was killed; they holding for certain, in case of being slain on this occasion, that they shall enter paradise immediately; believing, moreover, that all who die during the ten days of the Ashur are transported thither directly.

But



But to my departure. Having provided a litter on the back of a camel for Madame Maani, my lady, and all things being in readiness, on Friday in the evening, the 19th of January 1618, I left Hispahan, escorted by all the brotherhood of Carmelites, Augustines, and other secular Europeans then in the city, who accompanied me to the beginning of the road to Ferhabad, the city at which the King was represented to be. The first day we travelled no more than a league, it being late when I left Hispahan, and rested at a village called Beftabad; the country about which is barren, and white as if covered with snow, a circumstance owing, as I conceive, to its abounding so much in nitre.

That I may omit nothing, I must inform you that distances are measured in Persia by leagues, or parasanga, as mentioned by Herodotus, Xenophon, and several other authors, called, however, by corruption, *ferseng*. The Turks, indeed, call them *agaj*, or trees, they being marked by trees. The length of them is similar to those of Spain, that is to say, equal to four Italian miles.

The manner of travelling here is as follows: the haram, or ladies, go before, with all the camels and carriages, together with the domestics who escort them. These last go on foot chiefly, well armed, yet without fatiguing themselves, as when weary they mount the camels. Having eight servants with me, four or five are allotted to this department. The chief or governor of the haram accompanies the ladies, on horseback. This person is usually either an eunuch, or a venerable old man with a white beard, who is armed as well as the rest, and has the command of the escort. It was one of the latter description which I employed, who had had the care of Madame Maani from her youth, and loved her with the tenderness of a father. He it was who, when obliged to fly from Mardiu, her native country, like Mitæbus who followed Camilla, never quitted her for an instant, but carried her from the destruction of war, seated before him on horseback. When, however, any difficulties occurred on the way as we proceeded, I sent to his assistance a Marseillois, whom I have lately hired, and who is at present the only European in my service. I find him more clever than the rest of my servants, and use him when occasion as an *avant courier* to clear the way.

After the haram is sent forward the master mounts his horse an hour afterwards or so, with the other servants who accompany him on horseback, as it is requisite he should have a respectable appearance. Among these I have constantly a *methu*, or squire, who looks after the horses, and serves me as a valet, carrying behind him two large portmanteaus, comprising a small carpet, mattrass, pillow, and coverlid, for one person, that they may be ready on occasion, without having resort to the luggage borne by the camels, and a robe lined with fur, with a great coat and other similar defences against cold, rain, &c. In these also are carried provisions and sweetmeats to eat on the way. After this description, you will not wonder at the small number of leagues we travel in a day.

The second day we made no more progress than two leagues, passing the night in a dilapidated caravanferai, at a small town called Ric. On the third day we travelled eight leagues, beginning our journey an hour before dawn, taking up our lodging at a caravanferai called Serdehew, standing by itself. Here, however, we found provisions, the host keeping always a store for the use of travellers. In these caravanferai on the road the traveller is received gratis, and may remain as long as he pleases. In the cities he pays a trifle; but unlike those on the road, which are open, the rooms of the latter have locks to the doors, for the maintenance of which the charge is made. They are, however, entirely destitute of furniture.

From Hispahan to this caravanferai we traversed over a flat country. On the fourth day we journeyed five leagues on a level road, between hills entirely bare of vegetation of any



any kind, like the whole of the province of Irak, which passes with some for the ancient Parthia; the labour of the inhabitants and an abundance of water alone making fertile those places which are peopled. This day Madame Maani and myself dined midway of our day's journey, in a garden belonging to the King, called Tagiabad, or the colony of the crown. Over the gate there is a small pavilion, similar to that I have before described over the gate of the entrance to the palace in Hispahan, but not so large, so handsome, nor so costly. Here I have to observe, that the architecture of all the houses belonging to the King which I have hitherto seen is the same; the houses are small, contain a number of rooms with many doors, and the decorations are wholly similar. The garden was full of trees and fruit; its only remarkable beauty, however, was a long alley reaching from the house to the extremity, lined with cypress-trees and paved with stone. In the middle of the garden ran a large stream, whence flowed several pleasing branches, and numerous water-falls, or rather courses, over irregular beds, afforded a pleasing murmur.

After dining on the banks of this stream, we arrived in the evening at a town called Kaur, taking up our abode in a private house, the caravanferai affording shelter only for our cattle. On the fifth day, after travelling four leagues, we rested at a town called Dep-abad; well watered with rivulets abounding so plentifully with fish, that they may be taken out with the hand. We passed the night in the house of one of the principal inhabitants of this town, which is of considerable size, from whom we met with great civility. The sixth day, after going over again four leagues, we lodged with some private persons, at a town called Buz-abad, or the colony of ice, but met with only indifferent treatment: mid-way we saw a large reservoir of water, to which you descend by steps, constructed for the convenience of travellers, there being no fountains in this part; and towards evening passed by a large mosque, with gardens, apartments, and conveniencies for the persons resident on the spot, who look after this place of worship with great care. It is held by the Persians in great veneration, and called by them Saleh i Mufa Cadhum, from the person interred here; the seventh day, Thursday 25th January, five leagues beyond, we reached the city of Cashan, and took up our residence in a very large and handsome caravanferai belonging to the Shah, out of the city, and in the neighbourhood of the King's palace, where we remained for some time to refresh and rest ourselves.

Cashan is a city of small size for Persia, though both larger and better peopled than Averfa, or Capua in the kingdom of Naples. The traffic in it is considerable, on account of its being the high road to Calvin, Tebriz, the western parts of Turkey, the Caspian Sea, and all the north. Among other articles there are here numerous manufactories of silks; the chief part of those used in Persia or sent abroad being made here. Here they manufacture silks of all descriptions, but not with such taste nor of such fine colours as with us; they particularly, from want of cochineal and its dearth, dye very few of a crimson colour.

The site of Cashan is on the extremity of an extensive plain at the foot of very lofty mountains. So great is the heat in this city, that the winter is scarcely felt, but, on the other hand, the summer is intolerably hot. The inhabitants, however, are plentifully supplied with cooling fruits of every description, such as oranges, lemons, limes, and the like. As for its buildings, there are none that are handsome, the baths and the caravanferai excepted. Before the King's palace in the suburbs is a very wide and long street, terminating with the gates of the city, the palace being on one of its sides. The streets of bazar within the city are built with piazzas, according to custom, and in the middle of the bazar is a little square white building, surrounded by walls, with numerous windows and



and balconies, perfectly symmetrical and exactly proportioned, which makes a very fine appearance.

As I am ever desirous of forming acquaintance with the learned, in the little time I remained here I got introduced to a Jew, a native of Shiras, whose family, however, came originally from Safet, at present a seminary of the most learned and most religious among the Jews in Palestine; his name Mullah Messih. He was brought to Caschan by the King to practice physic. He carries on this profession publicly, receiving persons at his house with great civility, but visiting none; where necessary to send to the patient, from his being too weak to come to consult him, he dispatches some ignorant servant, and prescribes from his report of the symptoms, without examining the urine, feeling the pulse, or seeing the patient. He shewed me his library, which contained nothing curious; and besides this, two balls, which he informed me were of mercury, that he had fixed, the secret of which art he proffered to disclose, on condition of my acquainting him with the method of making looking-glasses, an art on which I had been discoursing with him, and of which I was master; but I declined his offer, not being partial to chymistry, being wholly ignorant of it, and expecting nothing but some paltry deception from a Jew whose knowledge appeared to be far from extensive.

While at Caschan, employed in conversing with this Jew, Madame Maani, wishing to buy some silks and other matters, repaired for the purpose to the Bazar-i-staun, a place in the middle of the Bazar, surrounded by walls. Now, in this quarter no women of quality are wont to go in the day-time with their customary attendants, and in the night it is closed; Madame Maani, therefore, went incognita in a servant's dress, with only one of her domestics, her lalou or governor, and two other servants at a distance. Passing along the Bazar in a crowded part, an insolent man, taking her for a servant, pushed her, laying hold of her arm as drunkards in the streets are wont to do with the women they meet. Upon this, Madame Maani, forgetting she was dressed as a servant, put herself in a rage. Decorum, however, prevented her from making a noise, she therefore simply expressed by signs to the two men behind what had happened, and pointed out the offender. One of them who comprehended her followed the man, and gave him a beating, but being joined by one of his comrades, who, as well as the offender, were servants of a son-in-law of the King, rendered insupportably insolent by the distinction shewn them, and both being armed, my two servants immediately drew their swords, and conducted themselves so bravely that the boldest and most offensive was laid on the ground, having received, besides two mortal blows, such a violent cut from a scymetar as separated both the shoulders. The others who had come to his assistance were dispersed with many a kick, without my people being subject to any inconvenience. As soon as I heard of the affair I waited upon the Daroga, or governor of the city, to acquaint him of the circumstances of the quarrel, and satisfy him of the innocence of my servants; in which I succeeded, meeting with great civility, and receiving excuses on his part for not having furnished me with a house, which, had he been informed of my arrival, it would have been his duty and pride to have done.

The robe of the Persians, which is made of cloth, differs in some respects from that of the Turks, being more simple, straighter, and more open above. The under waistcoat, which they wear in winter only over the shirt, and which is not seen, is generally made of India cotton extremely fine. In summer they wear simply an outer jacket, or rather coat, quilted and lined with cotton, which fits the body exactly, covers the stomach, and is very narrow at the waist, on the right side of which it is laced; it has long, narrow, plaited sleeves, without any buttons at the wrist. From the waist downwards



it expands in the manner of a bell, reaching to the calf of the leg, where it is widest, and is kept expanded by the strength of the quilting.

In general, these vests or coats are made as before observed of Indian cloth stained of a single colour, but the figures are whimsical, and are therefore so much the more prized. When these cloths are new, they are as glossy and lustrous as satin. They wear two fashes below the stomach, one above the other. The longer as well as the shorter are of silk, extremely fine and handsome, frequently worked with gold, as their chief pride is in the number, variety, and beauty of their fashes, which distinguish the high classes from the lower. The shorter, to relieve the beauty of the other, and shew it to greater advantage, is only of one colour, and much more simple than the first; and although this second girdle be frequently of cotton, or camel's hair, it is not in less esteem, being oftentimes of greater value than those made of silk.

In winter the Persians wear but one upper garment, made somewhat to resemble a frock coat, and chiefly very short, so much so, that it scarcely flaps the haunches of the horse when they ride; the common people wear it somewhat longer, but never to reach lower than the bend of the knee. It is principally of cloth, but of a curious colour, different from that of the vest, and trimmed with cords and silk frogs. On grand occasions, their coats are of silk and gold, and mostly lined with fur, of which they have abundance that is very handsome, of white, black, and grey colours; with some unknown among us, particularly that of a kind of lamb, peculiar to the province of Khorasan, the hair of which is long and curling: their shoes are of cloth of some lively colour; the women, however, wear them of velvet and gold cloth alone.

They take especial care that every part of their dress shall be of a different colour, in this varying from our practice; nor do they choose common colours, such as blue, green, and the like, but compound and whimsical tints, such as bronze colour, that of the camel, of wine lees, olive and similar; but of all, that which in my esteem is the most brilliant is a flame colour, by the side of which our liveliest scarlet or carnation appears as nothing, and among their darker colours, a certain deep green pleased me highly than the most fashionable of any in the East. It is called Negti or Neft, from its similitude of tint to that of a certain oil exuded from the earth in the neighbourhood of Backu, a city of Albania on the Caspian sea, dependant on Persia. This oil being very cheap is used for burning, and produces a considerable revenue to the crown; it has also some medicinal qualities, and is not unknown to our druggists.

The swords here are much more curved than those of Turkey, and have only one edge, the guard is simply a cross, the blade is usually damasked. The sheaths are shagreen of either a black or red colour, the extremity like the hilt damasked after the Persian manner; the belt, narrow and very handsome, is of the natural colour of the doe-skin of which it is made.

They always wear a turban of a striped colour over a ground of white cotton, very rarely is the turban wholly white. People of rank have it either embroidered with gold or silver, or plain, as they happen to fancy; it is always so large as to conceal the little cap in the middle. I have not hitherto perceived that the turban, except that with a tag, marks any distinction of rank. Many in the winter time, when very cold, wear a long pointed bonnet under the turban, the extremity of which appears above, and the lower part serves to keep the head and ears warm. It is of the same description as Xenophon describes the Thracians to have worn in his time. Some wear this kind of cap alone, but these are only the common people; except, indeed, the Georgians, who, having the turban in abhorrence, wear it indiscriminately, both high and low. In this part, however,



however, the Christians accommodate themselves to the common practice. Green is allowed to be worn here, which is expressly forbidden in Turkey. Of this colour not only do they wear coats and turbans, but even shoes or boots, which are frequently of shagreen among people of rank : I, however, who find them too stiff for my feet, wear them of Morocco leather like the common people. The shape of their shoes is different to those of the Turks, being pointed at the toe, with high heels.

The dress of the women is very simple, and without ornament, although the rich are not sparing in having a variety of cloth, silk, and gold, with handsome tissue of various kinds. Their dress is much less loose than that of the Turkish ladies, and in my esteem is not so becoming ; their fash, likewise, is tied very low, almost below the haunches, which appears to me very ungraceful. The veil they wear resembles that of the women of Bagdad, and is tied in the same manner in front, but trains to the ground on each side : it is of various colours, extremely fanciful and extraordinary. Their head-dress is simple, and adorned with precious stones. They wear here only one row of pearls, not round the neck as with us, but about the temples, and pendant for about four fingers in length over the face. They wear likewise two loose ringlets of hair proceeding from the top of the head, and hanging indifferently on the one or the other side of the face, which have a beautiful effect. When ladies go into the city they cover their head and body with a white sheet, after the manner of the Syrians, on horseback, and generally led by a servant.

To return, however, to my travels. After making the remarks I have detailed at Cashan, I left it on Sunday the 28th of January, proceeding however according to custom no more than a league from the city, and taking up my abode at a caravanferai in a large town called Bidyal. On Monday we were enabled to continue our progress, and reached two caravanferai which are together at a place called Deckien, after travelling seven leagues over large plains of loose and barren sands, in which the horses sunk to their girths, without seeing any villages or habitations, the country being entirely a desert. On Tuesday we made six leagues, traversing large plains of salt ; the country is very even and white as a sheet, nothing vegetable grows upon them ; and in summer, from the reflection of the sun's rays, the heat is so extreme that travellers commonly journey by a way somewhat about in order to avoid it. In winter this country is often inundated with rain to such a height that the horses are wet to the very flaps of the saddle, and the country out of the beaten track being then boggy, in case of getting out of the road the traveller runs great risk of being lost, to prevent which posts are fixed at distances to mark the course of the highway. Fortunately for me there was no waters out on my travelling the plain, the season being unusually dry.

The salt of this plain, which I tasted, is very white and palatable, but is not used by the Persians on account of their having sufficient of a superior quality called mountain salt. About the middle of this plain, which is five leagues in extent, I discovered a small patch of black earth transported thither by order of the King of Persia, who going a pilgrimage on foot to one of their mosques in Khorasan which is much frequented, and unable to pass this wide plain in one day, had it brought hither that he might lodge dry for the night. At present, it serves for the caravans who travel this way in the winter.

This day we traversed the whole of this salt plain, but could not arrive at any place of retreat by night fall, we consequently having had the precaution of furnishing ourselves with every requisite, not excepting even wood for firing and water. The evening being very fine, Madam Maani would not have the tent raised nor sleep in her litter, but



but slept with me, heaven for our canopy spangled with stars, but under good quilted counterpanes of cotton, with furred caps on.

On Wednesday, the last day of January, after travelling from five to six leagues we rested at night at a caravanferai called Scyah-cuh ; that is to say, black-mountain, from one which appears at a distance of that colour, in the neighbourhood. That day we dined near a reservoir of sweet water, of which we laid in store, there being none but what is salt at the caravanferai ; on account of which, the King has ordered the construction of another at a short distance, and severely punished the architect of the present for his improvidence in building it where was no good water.

In this caravanferai, after a long abstinence from wine, I took some at supper ; the motive for which was the strong importunity of Madam Maani, solicitous of having children, she had consulted with certain physicians who had ascribed her barrenness to my abstinence from wine.

On Thursday the 1st of February, we rose two hours before day, as we had eight leagues to travel ere we should arrive at a resting place. We entered along a road, level, indeed, but difficult to travel, on account of its being so muddy that the horses sunk in it up to their girths. Now, however, it is amended, the King having caused a road to be constructed and paved over this boggy flat. This road, which is five leagues in length, being perfectly straight, wide, and handsome, is very extraordinary, and has a superb appearance, being perceptible owing to its evenness from one extremity to the other. It is not yet entirely completed, but the workmen labour hard to finish it. For the passage of rivulets in various parts arches are formed, among the rest one of this description about the middle is extremely spacious. In its sides small places are made for the traveller to rest upon. This arch or bridge is over a river called Ajji Chiai, that is to say, bitter river, the water of it from the quantity of salt with which it is impregnated being actually bitter.

Having passed this bad road, and three leagues of good before and subsequent thereto, we rested at night in the caravanferai of a small town called Reskmè. Friday, which was the day of the Purification, as well on account of its being a festival as to mend the girths of the camel which carried the litter, we remained at Reskmè until evening, and travelled thence only one league to a large town called Mehalle bagh, or the vineyard of the neighbourhood. This is a little out of the road, but we proceeded to it, as most do, on account of the quantity of fruit and other conveniences to be found there. This town is situated at the extremity of the plain, at the foot of very high mountains which traverse the country, and apparently are a branch from those of Syria, which send forth many, reaching even to China, under the different names of Taurus, Caucasus, Imaus, and others. The inhabitants, indeed, are unacquainted with the different names given them by various ancient and modern authors, but this is not astonishing ; for, separate from the difficulty of obtaining faithful relations of matters at so great a distance, they are not accustomed to give general names to their mountains, each one having the name of the village to which it is contiguous, and their villages are numerous.

We rested for the night at Mehalle bagh, in the house of one of the most powerful in the province, who shewed us many civilities, and to whom, on our departure, we made a present in return of a vest, a gift in high esteem in this country. On Saturday we entered the mountains, which we traversed by a very deep and narrow valley, much resembling that you have seen in Umbria in Italy, called Valle Stretta ; this, however, is much longer.



Through this valley we travelled by a very even road, the ascent or decline being scarcely perceptible; the mountains on each side being very lofty, and in parts the passage is so narrow where the road winds that one could scarcely get through it with the litter. A small river or rather a large rivulet runs through the bottom of the valley, on the brink of which we discovered an uninhabited village in ruins. We were so much charmed with the freshness of the water, that Madame Maani and myself halted here to dine, sending on the servants. We perceived likewise a small streamlet formed from several springs, and extremely pellucid. Tempted to taste its water, we were surprized to find them as bitter and unpalatable as that of the other was fresh and agreeable; which quality, on examination, I discovered to proceed from one of its currents of supply running over a vein of salt as it winded along.

We arrived towards evening at a certain spot in the same valley, where in a grotto formed either by nature or art the caravans are used to halt, there being no other shelter for a considerable distance. Madame Maani would not however stop here on account of its being very dirty, having the day before been the residence of a number of pigs marked red and white, which the King, who is but little scrupulous on matters of religion, either to please himself or gratify the Christians of Ferhabad, and enable them to preserve the breed among them, had caused to be driven thither from Hispahan. The mode of transport adopted was curious, as, in order to shorten the time of their journey, they were carried in panniers like women.

The grot being found in a filthy condition, we continued our journey till midnight with great difficulty, and very unpleasantly, owing to the gloom of the valley, and a fall of fleet, from our having also frequently to ford the rivulet I have mentioned. This was also the first day of our perceiving snow on the mountains, or experiencing inclement weather. At length we reached a town at midnight called Heblî-rad, where we rested all the following day to refresh our cattle. On the succeeding day, 5th of February, we continued our route still through the same valley, which we discovered was divided into two by a ridge of mountains. The road to the left appearing to us most beaten, we took that in preference, and had proceeded about a mile when we learned from some shepherds that we were going astray, and trod back our steps to take the road on the right, which was covered with snow, and muddy owing to its beginning to thaw.

We had a fall of snow again towards evening, and at length after journeying four leagues arrived late at a town called Firuz-cuh, or the victorious mountain. This town is on the summit of the mountains in an exposed situation, to which however, notwithstanding its eminence, the ascent is gentle. This town is the last of the province of Irak, in consequence of which the copper money of Hispahan ceases to pass for more than half its value. It is a remarkable circumstance in Persia, that although silver coin be universally current at the same value, copper should pass in a different province to that in which it was issued at only half its price, notwithstanding it be larger and heavier than that in circulation of the stamp of the province in which it is tendered. Tuesday, we remained all day at Firuz-cuh. Wednesday we continued our course towards Mazanderan, always on a descent, that province bordering on the sea, and being a level country, so that we had to go down half as deep again from the mountain of Feruz-cuh as the valley from its summit whence we ascended. Here, however, it may not be improper to give you a description of Mazanderan.

This province is situated as I have before remarked on the Caspian sea, in the south east, having the province of Asterabad, dependant on a Khan subject to the King, on the east, and the sea on its western side; Ghilan, which was annexed by his present Majesty to Persia, and which is governed by a viceroy, on the west, and the pro-



vince of Irak on its southern side. But in order to give you a better comprehension of the position of their various countries, I shall make the tour of the Caspian Sea; specifying the divisions and modern names of the countries, to enable you to compare them with the description of ancient authors.

As before described, west of Mazanderan, on the Caspian Sea, lies Ghilan; beyond which towards the west, in the neighbourhood of the sea, but above Ghilan, Albania is situated, which is annexed to the former province; the first city of which is Backee\*, or more properly Bagh-cuh, pronounced by the Persians, Vaccuh. It is remarkably strong, being built on rugged rocks, on the margin of the sea, called also by the same name. This city is said to have been called formerly Albana, and is at present the residence of a sultan. In the same country, also, on the western shores of the sea, is Derbend or Demir-capi, that is to say, Irongate. Albania terminates here, and Mount Caucasus begins; inhabited at present by divers nations; but particularly upon the sea by certain Mahometans called Lezghi, who acknowledge no king. These are much divided among themselves, under the dominion of an infinite number of petty tyrants, called Mirza; some of which have no more than twenty subjects. They are a people of gross habits, who prefer a residence in villages, and in the country, to cities; a brutal and barbarous race, the dread and horror of their neighbours,

Who rove for booty, and subsist on spoil.

Beyond the Lezghi is the country of the Asiatic Sarmatians, that is to say, the Circassians, who follow the Greek faith, but are without books, priests, or churches, so that they are Christians only in name; and, divided as they are among themselves under the sway of different Mirza, from the Lezghi on one side and the Tatars on the other, they carry on incessantly a freebooting war with their neighbours. Hence the immense number of men and women slaves, Circassians, Russians, Tatars, and Lezghi, dispersed over the East by this infamous traffic.

Circassia extends along the Caspian Sea to the country of the Russians, called by us Muscovites, to the mouth of the Wolga, where the city of Astracan, as called by us; but by the Persians, who carry on a considerable traffic hither, denominated Agitarcan, and by its inhabitants, Asktarcan. On the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, the Russians have the Tatars for neighbours, among which are a certain race called the Usbeck Tatars, a name which signifies independant lords. These people inhabit a country of immense extent to the east of the Caspian Sea. Beyond them, towards the rising of the sun, are the Tatars of Cathay; and south of them lays India. Among other considerable places belonging to them, is Samarcand, anciently the residence of Tamerlane. Towards the south they have Balk, or Bukhara, on the sea, the residence of one of their principal khans, who is frequently at war with Persia.

Between the country of the Usbeck Tatars, the Iagatays who inhabit Scythia citerior (undoubtedly the ancient) Sogdiana and Bactriana, and the province of Aftabad which I have before mentioned, the country on the borders of the sea is an absolute desert, inhabited formerly by the Turkmans, who now are dispersed over the whole empire of Persia as well as of Turkey. These Turkmans were a wandering people, without any fixed abode, living in tents. Their ancient and ordinary country, however, was that part of Scythia called by geographers Turkistan, where they obtained the name of Turkmans, a corruption of Terck-imaun, which means, he has changed his faith; when from Gentiles, which they were before, they became Mahometans. Since that period this name has been applied to those only who remained in the country and their

\* Mostly written Backu or Bakku, but properly Bagh cuh, the mountain garden.



colonies, the rest becoming powerful carried their arms farther towards the west, in Asia, and into Europe, and retrenching the man or man from their names, were afterwards called Turks. Some of these people, as I have observed, remained between Asterabad and the Usbeck Tatars; but these were afterwards exterminated by Abbas, on account of their being Infidels, and joining with the Tatars of the same creed as themselves (which is similar to that of the Turks) in desolating the borders of Persia. However, there are yet a number of these Turkmen in other parts of his empire, that is, in Media, Albania, and elsewhere; some of which are established in villages and cities, others have no fixed abode. They are governed by Sultans and Khans, who serve the King with scrupulous fidelity.

I shall now return to Firuz kuh. On leaving this place we travelled three leagues through the snow, which laid very deep, to the frontiers of Irak, where we descended from the summit of the mountains. We, however no sooner entered Mazanderan, descending from the mountains by rude acclivities, than we found ourselves again enclosed in a very narrow valley, at the foot of the mountains we had crossed. The country we quitted was barren, and bare of either trees or plants; this, on the contrary, was covered with forests, abounding in water, and skirted by mountains clothed with beautiful and very lofty trees, which much delighted me from the resemblance it bore to Europe; such as I had never before seen in any of the countries of Africa or Asia through which I had travelled, nor indeed had I since my departure from Italy ever before met with such profusion of wood and water.

After five leagues journeying we arrived after mid-night at the first inhabited spot in Mazanderan. This retreat, built on the road, as well as many others, by the present King, is called Suzkar abad. In order to compel the people to dwell in these buildings, and leave the barren mountains, he destroyed their houses there, leaving only a few for the convenience of travellers. In this place I met with Mr. Gifford, an English gentleman with whom I was acquainted, with the interpreter of his nation returning from court to Hispahan.

Thursday, which was the 8th of February, we travelled three leagues in this same valley; and as it expands here a little, and is watered by a small stream which flows gently to the sea, it was well cultivated, and entirely covered with rice, which is sown so plenteously all over Mazanderan on account of the quantity of water in the province, and the humidity of the soil, that one readily takes it to be the only food of the people. In fact, whether owing to the soil not suiting the growth of wheat, or their want of partiality to the culture of that grain, the bread used in the whole province is made from rice alone, which likewise constitutes their only food. The people disliking meat, and fancying milk, butter, with every sort of unctuous food injurious to health, live entirely on rice cooked with a little water and salt, and called *chilao*, taking with it every now and then a spoonful of some sort of acid, such as verjuice, the juice of pomegranates, vinegar, or the like. To this food they are exceedingly partial, and maintain that there is none more conducive to health. In Lent I lived myself almost wholly on this food, and found it far from bad. I do not consider it, however, to be highly wholesome; the people of this province, who eat nothing else, seldom having much colour, owing perhaps to this mode of living, perhaps to the quality of the air. They are almost universally of a brown, fallow complexion, with black hair, eyes, and eyebrows.

The women, however, were in my eyes perfectly beautiful; and I had full opportunity of judging, as, unlike other Mahometans, they never cover the face, but converse freely with man. In addition, they are affable and exceedingly obliging. In courteous manners the men are not inferior to the women; particularly they are ever ready to offer



their houses to strangers, seek their company, and are gracious and generous in extreme ; so much so, in short, that I may say with safety, there is no country in the world in which the people, even of the very lowest rank, possess greater urbanity of manners. Thus Hyrcania, if Mazanderan form a part thereof, from the horrid country it was depicted by the ancients, the repair of tigers and other ferocious beasts, is now metamorphosed into the finest country I have hitherto seen in Asia, and that in which the inhabitants are the most civil, prepossessing, kind, and trusty of any upon the surface of the globe.

We discerned on the road this day, on the declivities of the mountains, some castles formerly used as fortresses. Certain petty noblemen who had assumed the state of sovereigns, and claimed independance, caused them to be erected during the minority of Shah Abbas, and the latter end of the very long life of his father Choda-bendè, in which period Persia underwent several changes. But at present all these castles are in ruins, having been razed by Shah Abbas, after reducing this country to subjection. We saw likewise on the slope of another mountain, extremely high and of sharp ascent, which serves as a rampart to this valley, a grotto, with walls of masonry, to which it is impossible to have access, no one knowing the road to it, and the mountain being so rocky and perpendicular. It is related that a young lady, tall as a giant, lived in this grotto, and was used to ravage the circumjacent country, and that in this part all intercourse was stopped by her between the neighbouring provinces.

They relate also a thousand stories, not only of this maiden, but also of several giants of the country, whose large tombs are to be seen ; but as I look on these as old women's tales, I paid no attention to them. I shall only remark to you, that in these same parts, on the margin of the stream which runs pleasantly along the bottom of the valley in which we dined, I found in the morning a quantity of celery, wild endive, and several other excellent herbs met with in our country ; with violets and other pleasant flowers in abundance on the side of the road, delighting us with the grateful promise of spring. Amid the charming diversity of prospects, and the delightful fragrance with which we were regaled, we continued our journey, and in the evening entered one of those little huts newly built, calle Mioni kiolle. Of these there are a number on the road, so that travellers may halt wherever they will.

Mazanderan possesses no places set apart for the accommodation of travellers ; but each individual is anxious to receive the stranger, and loads him with kindness, without exacting any gratuity ; he however refuses not the boon you tender as a present. On Friday we set off rather late, and moreover found the road extremely bad and muddy, the ground being of a very slippery nature ; so that, but for the road in places being cut in form of stairs, it would have been impossible for us to have got along. On this account we advanced but two leagues, arriving in the evening at a small village called Giret, situated on the slope of a mountain, where, the men being at Ferhabad in attendance on the King, we were received with all imaginable kindness by a very handsome and highly courteous hostess, called Zohara, at whose house we were visited by almost all the females of the place, each with a present. In return, Madame Maani presented them with some trifles, which, from their rarity in this quarter, were highly esteemed, and much delighted them.

With other things, she divided among them a quantity of hanna, or alcanna as it is called by our druggists, for staining the hands ; and after supper, in order to celebrate our arrival, she insisted on all present using of it with her ; it being the custom in the East on any joyous occasion, such as weddings or the like, to fasten it on the hands while in conversation. This alcanna is nothing more than the powder of the dried leaves  
of



of a certain plant, which, as the Orientalists never wear gloves, possesses the faculty of embellishing the hand, and preserving it from injury by the weather. The manner of applying it is as follows: after supper, just previous to their retiring to bed, they moisten the alcana with water, and with the paste cover the hands, or such part of the body as they are desirous of staining, binding it on with linen bandages. The evening is therefore chosen for the application, as in the day-time it would be inconvenient for the ladies to have their hands confined. The paste remains thus fastened during the night, and in the morning, on removing the bandage, the paste is reduced again to powder, and the part to which it had been applied is stained of a bright orange colour; sometimes, if a greater quantity be used, it is more inclined to red; and sometimes again, so much is used as to make it of a very dark colour, approaching to black. This dye is the most esteemed by the Persians, as it serves to set off the whiteness of the skin.

On Saturday we left this place, and continued our journey by a tiresome and very bad road. In the evening we lodged at a village called Tallarapascet, where I found some mountaineers who were so excessively stupid, that having bought oats of some of them for the horses, in order to learn what number I had to pay for them of a certain copper-money of the value of a farthing, we were obliged to reckon the amount with beans, and in settling it spent more than an hour. On Sunday we quitted the vallies and the mountains, and entered on plains. We passed then through a large forest, the road through which is straight, broad, and well shaded by the trees, which are large and of great height; many of them covered with wild vines.

We were much fatigued in travelling this road, the soil being slimy and moist, on account of the numerous rivulets by which it is watered in many places; so that in the winter it becomes so muddy that even camels, notwithstanding their great height, sink in the soil to the girths, you may judge therefore what the condition of horses or smaller animals must be. In order to remedy this inconvenience, the King has ordered a road to be constructed and paved, for which purpose a quantity of materials are collected by the way-side, and huts have been built for the workmen. The plan however is not yet begun, on account of the season; it raining almost continually in Mazanderan throughout the winter.

We at length waded through these bad roads, but with so much labour and difficulty that this day we travelled no more than two leagues, night overtaking us in the forest. We listened attentively for the barking of dogs or the bleating of sheep, to point out to us some place of refuge for the night; at length, finding no habitation but what was at a great distance from us, we rested that night in the forest, having the trees for covering in lieu of a tent, through the foliage of which the beams of the moon playing made our canopy appear of dark green and silver. A quantity of dry leaves served us for carpet and bed; and for firing we found abundance of dry wood. We sent our servants then to the nearest village for provisions. Its inhabitants, owing to some misconception, took offence at our people, with whom they were near coming to blows without knowing why; but finally, informed of who we were, they were extremely civil, and came to proffer us lodging and make us presents; and on our declining to go to the village on account of the distance, the principal of the village, with the chief inhabitants, came to our camp loaded with excellent provisions, and passed the night gaily with us, bringing a musician with them who treated us during supper with woodland songs, in the language of the country, which is impure Persian; accompanying his airs with an ill-strung violin, giving us little pleasure save what we felt from the good-will he manifested to amuse us. The Monday following we travelled two leagues farther through the wood, over an equally bad road; passing here and there over some well-cultivated fields,



fields, irksome to cross on account of the rains, but in which the road was somewhat better.

In the evening we arrived at Saru, a very large and populous town, wherein the King has a palace; it is not an enclosed place, but has the denomination of a city. I did not notice in it any handsome buildings. The houses are mostly thatched with straw, few being covered with tiles. The name of this place signifies yellow, perhaps on account of the quantity of oranges and various fruit which grows about the town. Here we met, in a brother and sister of tender years, with most obliging hosts, who shewed us all imaginable attention, as well as some of their relations, which induced us to give rest to our beasts, and remain here the whole of Tuesday. On Wednesday, the 4th of February, we departed from Saru, and continued our way for four leagues through large plains, formerly a forest, of which the trees have been felled, and the lands put into excellent cultivation. They are inhabited in different parts by an infinity of people, mostly Christians, sent hither by the King not long ago from various countries, but principally from Armenia and Georgia.

The roads through these plains are wearisome and unpleasant; yet, being more open, are not equally bad with that in the forest. I trust, however, that they will soon undergo the repair projected, and indeed already begun. They are intended to be paved, and will be broad, straight, and continued the whole length to Ferhabad. The houses on the road-side are built coarsely of the trees felled, and earth; as, however, clay abounds, they will no doubt soon be replaced by brick buildings, which the materials of their houses, and the great store of wood they have, will serve them to burn. I am confirmed in this opinion from the number of kilns constructed in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, and the immense provision of fuel prepared for heating them, sufficient together for the construction of not only one city, but several.

At length, after undergoing so much fatigue, we reached Ferhabad in the evening of the same day we computed to do on leaving Hispahan, and with it the term of our journey. As for the last four leagues of road from Saru, it was so closely peopled that it seemed but one continued town. The King on my arrival was not at Ferhabad, but, constantly on the wing, had gone to a certain place at six leagues distance, attended by very few; the court, and the troops which customarily winter with him, remaining in this city. As soon as the Viceroy, who is governor of the city and the whole of the province of Mazanderan, heard of my arrival, he immediately appointed me one of the best houses. But before I proceed to speak of my adventures, it may be proper to give you a description of Ferhabad, and point out its situation.

Some years are past since the King first laid the foundations of Ferhabad, or the colony of mirth, on a spot where the province of Mazanderan joins the Caspian Sea towards the north, in midst of a large plain which spreads to the sea, but two miles distant thence. The increase of buildings, however, is so prodigious, that I have little doubt but in process of time the city will reach the sea.

Two motives induced the King to build this city. A desire of embellishing his kingdom, which he has manifested by the numerous places he has caused to be founded in various parts; and a peculiar partiality to the province of Mazanderan, arising from the circumstance of its being the native place of his mother, and the strongest and best defended of any in his dominions, it being surrounded by the sea, in this part of difficult navigation, and wild and barren mountains, pervious only by very narrow and difficult passes. Add to which, this country being the farthest distant of any from the enemies with which he has to contend, and principally the Turks, is the most secure of any in his dominions; and, as the fortune of war is uncertain, should any reverse oblige



him to fly before his enemies, he might have in this country a secure rampart from every insult on their part, and would find in the population of the province sufficient means of upholding his authority and rank as a Sovereign. On this account, he takes the greatest pride and pleasure in improving Mazanderan; which, uncultivated and unpeopled before, by his exertions is now filled with inhabitants, who spend their labour on no ungrateful soil, the fecundity thereof amply repaying the husbandman.

Having begun the construction of Ferhabad, and appointed it the metropolis of Mazanderan, to people sufficiently not only that city but the whole of the province, he had resort to extraordinary, violent, yet highly politic measures; by which he filled it with innumerable colonies, of various religions and countries. These inhabitants are of two descriptions; such as have been carried away from various places belonging to his enemies, thus weakening them while he increased his own strength, of which description are numerous dependencies of the Turks and Georgia, and his own subjects who lived in countries of insecure defence, bordering on the territories of unfriendly powers, to whom in exchange for possessions which he ravaged to interpose an imperviable wilderness between their and his dominions, he gave lands and houses in this fertile and inaccessible country, where they might live in peace, and free from the fear of seeing their property, their families, and lands, become the prey of a fierce invading power, as was the case of the Christians of Armenia, the Mahometans of Media, or the province of Shirwan, and many other places.

By these forced migrations to Mazanderan, he has abundantly peopled the province; and allotting to each individual the means of following his ordinary pursuits, suffering none to eat the bread of idleness, he has employed them in breaking up the untilled lands, and thus introduced in the province culture unknown before, and arts and manufactures to which it was erst a stranger. Here we see such of the Armenians as were husbandmen, and as skilful in the culture of the vine as prone to enjoy the beverage it yields, employed in the same tillage of which they were the first inventors; while their shepherds are furnished with flocks. The Georgians again, both Christians and Jews, accustomed to tend the labours of the worm, are occupied in the gathering and manufacture of silk; to facilitate the means for which, an incredible number of mulberry trees has been planted in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, the soil being better adapted to their growth than that of any other in the world. As for the Medes of Shirwan, inclined to peace and idleness, and satisfied with their chilão, who look for nothing better, that they may shake off their lazy habits, he does not allow them to sell the leaves of their mulberry trees, of which great abundance grows on the lands he has assigned them, but constrains them to raise worms, and learn the art of making silk.

In short, my dear Murio, Shah Abbas is not only the King, he is the father, the tutor, the benefactor of his people. Not only does he gift them with lands and flocks, he bestows on them money in abundance to provide for their necessities; lending to such as may be able to repay him, and graciously giving as a boon to those whose harder fortune allows not the prospect of return. Moreover he takes care of their marriages, particularly of his own household, and fees to all learning the practice of some trade: so that never was the father of a family more provident over five or six, than this great King over so many millions of subjects. This liberality, indeed, this extreme attention to the welfare of his people, has been of infinite prejudice to the cause of Christianity; for many suffering themselves to be dazzled by the lustre of temporal advantage, renounce eternal truth, and disown the faith of Christ, of which they were sworn disciples at their baptism, for the paltry gratification they receive on their abjuration, or to cancel their debts to the King, which are paid on their becoming Mahometans.



So many miserable apostates, upon one occasion, availed themselves of the bounty of the King, granted upon the abandonment of their religion, that in Europe Shah Abbas has been taxed with the signal cruelty of having obliged them to abjure their religion by force, upon their not having money to pay their debts to him. Impartially judging, however, it must be acknowledged, that the Christians were the most guilty on the occasion; seeing that they engaged upon borrowing money of the King, that in case of non-restitution at the appointed time, they would change their religion; and that instead of providing for payment, these people dissipated the money improvidently. The Carmelites took occasion, therefore, at this time to tell these Christians freely, that they ought not to sell their religion for money; but on the contrary, to maintain themselves stedfast in their faith, even at the price of martyrdom, if such were requisite; adding, that their individual means were not adequate to the acquittal of their debts for them. In this manner did they advise them secretly, for fear of offending the King, who however upon learning it, approved rather than blamed their conduct. To those indeed who were the most necessitous and best disposed, they afforded assistance covertly; and there is little doubt but if these Christians had satisfied the King of their insufficiency to pay him, he would either have allowed them time, or have wholly remitted his claim.

One day, however, noticing that payments came in with more than common eagerness, to the amount of many thousand crowns, and these all in Portuguese coin, the King refused to receive them; alleging, that according to the bargain they were pledged to abjure, and that since they changed their religion for money, and from Armenians that they were become Franks or Romanists, all religions must be equal to them, and that it was his pleasure they should therefore become Mahometans; for it was neither just nor reasonable that his subjects should be in the pay of a foreign power, particularly of the Portuguese, his neighbours, who had become suspicious to him, and with whom he was constantly in dispute; and that now it was evident they could have no other motive in lavishing money thus among his subjects, than to make a party, under the pretext of saving their souls.

To return to Ferhabad. The circuit of its walls is great; equal to and perhaps greater than that of Rome or Constantinople: the city containing streets of more than a league in length. Of the people already sent hither and daily arriving, the major part are Christians, differing in customs and ceremonies, and these mostly Armenians and Georgians, who are allowed to build as many houses and churches as they please, and worship in public; a permission not granted in Turkey, or other Mahometan countries, in which, if a church fall into decay, license to repair or rebuild it can be obtained only by dint of money. The Christians here however are far from devout, of which I satisfied myself on visiting one of the churches of the Armenians, on Palm Sunday, one of their principal festivals. Notwithstanding the number of these people at Ferhabad, and the paucity of their churches, the congregation on this occasion did not exceed five-and-twenty or thirty persons. Indeed we may attribute the misfortunes and calamities to which they have been subject, principally to their lukewarmness in matters of religion, their schisms and heresies, which have called down the vengeance of a justly irritated Deity. Not however to digress farther, I must observe, that the streets not yet finished are laid out, and are very broad and straight, broader even than the street called Giulia, at Rome. They are lined by rows of symmetrical houses, before which are canals to carry off the rain, with bridges in front of each house. As yet the houses are built only one story high, and are covered with flags, which resist the weather as well as can be wished.

The coarse walls of Ferhabad are made of a matter very common in the neighbourhood, called culghil, that is to say, earth and straw. It is a slimy sand, watered like lime, and combined with chopped straw, and without any mixture of stone, forms a very hard and durable fence. The King's palace almost alone is built of brick. This is of tolerable size, but not yet finished. Not having yet seen the interior, I cannot describe it; but from its outward appearance, I conjecture it does not materially differ from other of the King's palaces. There is moreover a caravanferai, which is very spacious, and is already resorted to by the caravans. It is of brick likewise, but not yet entirely finished. The Vizier of Mazanderan informed me, that it was built at the instigation of the King, and took up no more than a fortnight to bring to its present state. There is likewise a public bath, with some large houses belonging to individuals of consequence, who reside in the city, but the number of them is inconsiderable.

The rest of this city, which is in its infancy, is built only of wood, earth, flags, and straw; whence it sometimes happens, as has been the case during my residence here, that great devastation is occasioned by fire, whole streets being destroyed. The King, however, who is constantly vigilant to increase the beauty of and perfect this city, with a view of preventing similar accidents, has availed himself of this to forbid the reconstruction of the houses on the same plan, unless more substantially built. From his providence, when we reflect on the wonders which in a short space he has effected at Hispahan, there is no room to doubt of his rendering Ferhabad, in the course of time, one of the most handsome and magnificent cities in the East; particularly as its neighbourhood abounds in all the requisites for consumption and convenience.

Ferhabad is not surrounded by a wall, nor even as yet are the lines formed; apparently they will not be now begun, but time be allowed for its increase of size.

A river, much smaller than the Tiber, which has its rise in the mountains I crossed, and flows through the rice valley I described, increased by the torrents which fall into it, becomes navigable at Saru, and running thence takes its course through the middle of the city. The boats used on this river are not of common construction, but made of hollow trees, with flat bottoms to suit its shallowness, and will carry ten or twelve persons, or a proportionate weight of merchandize. The paddles they make use of are shaped more like shovels than oars; with these, however, they make rapid progress through the water, not only with but even against the current.

This river is called Tegine-rude, which signifies the rapid stream. In Ferhabad there is yet no more than one bridge, which is very well built, and situated in the most frequented part of the city; as however it is so large, and passengers often wish to cross in other places, on such occasions they are ferried over in these small boats, of which there are a number plying. This river, which runs from south to north, falls into the Caspian Sea two miles below the town. Ferhabad is therefore a sea-port, vessels coming up to the bridge of the city where they anchor; these vessels, however, are not of large dimensions, but such as ordinarily are used in trafficking thence to Ghilan, Asterabad, Bagh-kuh, Demir-capi, and whither the trade is greatest, Astracan for Muscovy.

The largest of these vessels exceed not our tartans in size; they are built high, yet draw very little water, and are flat-bottomed on account of the numerous shoals. I wondered at first why scarcely any other fish than salmon and very poor sturgeons were caught at Ferhabad, and attributed it to the inability of the Persians, and their ignorance of the art of fishing; I was however undeceived by the Khan of Asterabad, who, living on this sea and having experience of what he stated, was competent to inform me. It seems that twenty or thirty miles from the shore, the sea is so shallow that the fishermen cannot throw their nets. On this account their vessels are built in the manner before described,



described, and carry no cannon, there being but few cruizers on this sea, unless indeed a small number of Muscovites or Russians, in the neighbourhood of their rivers, particularly the Wolga. Navigators also are cautious of touching at the mountains of the Lezghi, or in the country of the Circassians, between Albania and Muscovy, as they would infallibly expose both their property and freedom.

The temperature of Ferhabad much resembles that of Rome, lying nearly under the same meridian; that is to say, the winters are alike humid, rainy, and foggy, and the same degree of heat and cold is experienced. The quality of the soil is likewise similar, both being fat, marshy, and watered by a river and the sea.

I entered Ferhabad on the west of the river, but the house assigned me was on the opposite side, consequently I was obliged to cross it in order to get thither. Although one of the best in the place, the ceiling was so low that, notwithstanding I am none of the tallest, I could reach it with my hand. The house reminded me of the first cabins of Romulus; and as I seek to gather some amusement from every thing, the imagery which this circumstance brought to recollection served frequently to divert me. An appendage to it however much delighted me; it was a large garden planted with white mulberry trees, on the banks of the river. Here, shaded by them at times, or at others walking in alleys, I spent a great and the most agreeable portion of my time in conversation with the muses; now in company with Actius Sincerus, and now with a Marcus Aurelius, in French, which I met with by chance; and at other times with Ferrari, for want of other books.

So strong was my inclination of seeing the Caspian Sea, that the very next day after my arrival, that is, the 15th of February, I repaired to its shores. I embarked a little below my dwelling, not in one of the little boats I have described, but in a bark of tolerable size, resembling a felucca, but very ill equipped with paddles, and a disproportionate rudder; such, in short, that I am well persuaded, unless the wind were wholly favourable, from the clumsiness of the sails, it could make but little way. Charts and compasses are things unheard of here; but as this sea is much navigated, its numerous shoals are well known. I wished much for a quadrant in order to ascertain the latitude, and ardently desired a well-mounted sloop or frigate, that I might have taken the soundings, and made an exact chart of this sea; such, I have no doubt, is not to be met with in Europe.

We proceeded however to sea in the vessel I have mentioned, entering it by the mouth of the river; we had not advanced far, however, although the weather was calm, before the agitation occasioned qualms in Madame Maani, who never before had seen the sea, which obliged us to return and dine on a spot which presented us with nothing but a plain of immeasurable extent. Although not a fast-day, we were served with fish just caught from the river, which, however palatable at the instant from our having been so long without tasting of any, were very much inferior to those in Europe; nay, even the salmon caught here, although fresh, are not so good as with us when salted; nor indeed all the while I was in the country, did I ever meet with any that were of only tolerable flavour, being much inferior even to those of the Euphrates and the Tigris. They are all large and very fat, owing, as I imagine, to the muddy bottom of the Caspian Sea.

On Friday the 16th of February I sent two of my servants to Escref, only six leagues from Ferhabad, where the King then was, and where he already has begun to build a new city. I sent by these men two letters, one for the Agamir, or first secretary of the King, the other for Hussein Bey, the mehimandar, that is to say, the person who has the charge of the King's guests. It is his duty not only to assign houses to the

King's visitors, but also to regale and accompany them, and inform the King of their affairs, so that he is the first person made acquainted with them. In fact, of whatsoever nature they may be, whether proceeding from ambassadors of Princes or any others, they first pass through his hands : he is, consequently, an officer of great importance. Hussein Bey is a person very high in esteem, not only on account of his high charge and the favour he enjoys, but also from his being the son-in-law of ■ Khan, who is one of the most considerable persons about the court, as well as from being descended from the ancient nobles of Persia Proper, where he has very large estates in the neighbourhood of Shirez, with ■ number of towns and villages immediately dependent on him ; being so many lordships hereditary in his family, called *mulk*, that is to say, possessions independent of the sovereign, or, at least, such as the King cannot justly alienate.

To these persons then did I dispatch two letters, which Father Gio Thaddée de Sta. Elizée, vicar-general of the Carmelites at Hispahan, had given me ; in which he merely informed them who I was, and of my arrival, in order that they might render account thereof to the King, before he saw me. In addition to the letters, I recommended my people to tell them from me, that I waited His Majesty's orders at Ferhabad, whether to join him at Escrif, or attend him where I was. The *mehimandar* was at Ferhabad, of which I was ignorant ; and without receiving any of my letters, on learning I had arrived, he came on the Saturday to pay me a visit, and treated me, as his post exacted, with great civility.

On Sunday, in the evening, my people returned, and informed me they had seen the Agamir, who received them with civility, and acquainted them of his having before heard of my arrival and imparted it to the King, who answered according to custom, *Safa ghioldi, kosk ghioldi*, signifying I was welcome ; further adding, that it would not be requisite that I should travel to Escrif by such bad roads, as he was about to mount his horse to come to Ferhabad, where he would see me. Upon this communication, the Agamir immediately dispatched my servants to give me intelligence thereof, and directed them to use all expedition, as His Majesty travelled quick, and would, no doubt, pass them on the road.

In fact, the King mounted his horse, as I was afterwards informed, to come to Ferhabad ; but finding himself followed by a number of soldiers, and being fantastic and extremely whimsical, he put himself in a rage, saying he could go no where without being followed ; and, out of contradiction, returned, talking no more of his journey. He did not arrive, in short, until the 27th February, which by our reckoning was Shrovetide, and I remained where I was.

The next day, which was Ash Wednesday, having been informed of the King's arrival on the preceding day, I sent immediately to the Agamir to learn how I was to act, and whether it was proper I should then wait on His Majesty, at his levee, or wait till I was sent for, and received for answer ; that it was customary for persons of distinction to wait for particular orders ; that he would instantly mention the matter to the King, and communicate His Majesty's pleasure, which he did the next day as he mounted his horse. Whether, however, the King made any answer or not, on returning home to dinner he sent a gentleman to me, called Tochta Bey, to pay me a visit, and act as my individual *mehimandar*, or *maitre d'hotel* ; a peculiar mark of honour shewn me, this gentleman being the same person as on a similar occasion attended the English resident on his first appearance at court.

I received Tochta Bey according to the usage of the country, preparing a handsome collation for him, and perfuming his hair and beard with incense. He begged me to



give him a particular account of my travels, and the object of my journey. I informed him, that the strong inclination alone which I felt of seeing and offering my services to the King had induced my visit, which inclination originated in the fame of his grand and brilliant actions, connected with the honour he shewed our Holy Father the Pope, and his known good will towards the Catholics. He enquired also if I designed to remain any length of time in Persia. To this I answered, that my stay would depend on His Majesty. Again, he questioned if I had a haram; and learning I had, asked who and of what country my wife was, and whence I had taken her.

Learning afterwards in course of conversation that it was Lent, he was minute in informing himself in what manner I kept it, as it is differently kept by the Christians in Persia, the Orientalists being much less rigid than those of the Romish church.

The various questions and answers were committed to writing by a mulla, who acted as secretary, and the schedule, as he informed me, would be presented to the King, as is done on all similar occasions. I communicated likewise for inscription my name, surname, and country. After his taking leave of me in the politest manner, he further questioned my servants who accompanied him to the river's side where he took water, how many we were in the house; how many women-servants, horses, and camels; of which he specified the number in the paper he had to present to the King, and recommended particularly to the captain of the quarter where I dwelt, who had given me his own house as the best and most commodious in the neighbourhood, to pay me every attention. These officers are called *acfacal*, that is to say grey-beard, however young they may chance to be. Their office is to see that nothing is wanting in the houses of the King's guests in their different quarters.

Upon Tochta Bey leaving me, he repaired immediately to the King with the information he had obtained; but it being night by the time he arrived, and His Majesty with the ladies, he had no opportunity of speaking to him, and therefore sent in his schedule.

The same evening the King, who seldom remains long in a place, mounted his horse, together with his ladies, and went on a hunting-party, about four leagues from Ferhabad, to a district where he afterwards stopped for I know not how long, without the possibility of my receiving any intimation from him. However, Hussein Bey, and Tochta Bey, my particular mehimandar, continually visited, and shewed me much deference, behaving with the utmost civility.

At length the King returning, Tochta Bey immediately sent to inform me that he had given him ample information respecting me, and that he himself would have waited on me to inform me of the result of the conference were it not for the bad weather, but that he would do himself that pleasure soon as the rain had somewhat abated. The rain continued, and his visit was delayed to the 16th of March, when he informed me that the King had recommended me very strongly to his care, and enjoined that he should frequently wait on me, to remove as much as in his power the tedium of my residence in this city; concluding with remarking, that the period of the King's receiving me was delayed, owing to the injunctions of his astrologer Mulla Gelal, who waited for a lucky time for him to give audience to foreigners; observing to me, that the King did nothing without having reference first to his calculations.

This, however, I look upon was a mere pretext, serving as an excuse for His Majesty's not choosing to see me, either to tire my patience or to afford him time to make inquiry respecting my views. I, however, had no room to complain, as a similar conduct is observed towards all foreigners; and understanding that where impatience had been



with a good grace to his pleasure, intimating simply that I should receive his orders, whenever he pleased to issue them, with pleasure.

As, however, an opportunity offered in the course of this day, I unfolded, by means of this same Tochta Bey, one of the two objects of my visit, which concerned a war for the entire destruction of the Turks; the other being to make supplication for peace between Persia and the country of Madame Maani. I conversed for a long time with Tochta Bey on the first subject, and pointed out to him the means which might be adopted for the effectuation of the purpose, and the auxiliaries which Persia might find, as well perhaps in the Christians of Europe, as certain others of Asia called Cossacks, who dwell on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Dnieper or Boristhenes; giving him at the same time a succinct account of these people, and describing the importance of an individual then at court, who, on account of an apparent slight, was somewhat discontented. Tochta Bey paid much attention to my discourse, and seemed greatly to approve my project, which he promised he would not fail to communicate to the King. The result satisfied me that he had acquitted himself; for one day afterwards, the Cossack, presenting a petition to the King in the middle of the street, representing his impatience at not receiving any answer, and the slight he experienced from the Effendiar Bey, the King received it, and without reading the petition, stopping his horse, he called for the Effendiar Bey, and the chief of those who accompanied him, and, as he is wont, told them in a loud tone of voice, "You are ignorant then, you gentlemen, of the merit of these people, and, unaware of their bravery and noble disposition, know not how to behave yourselves towards them. Learn then, that they are masters of the Black Sea; that it is they who have taken so many towns from the Turks, and in various instances (which he recounted to them) have shewn themselves with great prowess; learn, gentlemen, that they are capable of being materially useful to us, and are not to be slighted." He, at the same time, expressing a desire of alliance with them in nearly the terms I proposed to Tochta Bey, concluded with recommending the individual to their kindness, enjoining the Effendiar Bey in particular, that he should not be suffered to want for wine, as he knew his countrymen were partial to it; ordering him at the same time five tomans in silver, equal to twenty-five pounds sterling, for his present occasions, until his petition could be attended to, and a more suitable present be provided. But let us now leave the Cossacks.

On Wednesday, 21st March, which was the Neu rouz, or beginning of the solar year, a great festival among the Persians, as I have before observed, and on which the King receives presents from all his subjects of rank, owing either to Saturn being on the ascendant, or because the King was indisposed, as we were told, His Majesty did not leave the haram; so that he was not visible, nor could be spoken with, that nor for several succeeding days.

Among the presents brought to the palace on this occasion was one on the part of the Khan of Chorasan, who, among many other things, sent nearly three hundred heads of Usbeck Tartars, besides a nobleman of distinction of that nation, and eight or ten of his servants alive, who surrendered themselves prisoners, the result of a skirmish, in which the remainder were put to the rout. These people, being sectaries of Omar, and inimical to the Persians, are constantly making inroads in their territories, carrying away whatever they can seize where successful.

Two others joined together in a similar present, the one Hussein Khan, governor of a province on the frontiers of Bagdad, who sent the heads of six hundred Turks, and Calvin Sultan, lieutenant of the said Khan, who has much fewer people dependent on him; his complement was sixty: the heads of those of distinction were enveloped in a  
silk



filk turban; the others bare, and each thrust through with a lance. This custom of making presents of the heads of enemies to the King of Persia is, according to Strabo, of very ancient date.

The King did not leave his palace to receive the presents, but contented himself with one day ordering the heads and the prisoners to be carried to the opposite side of the river, which near the palace is narrow, viewing the shocking spectacle from a balcony. He pardoned the Usbecks and gave them their liberty, without permitting them, however, to return to their nation; observing, at the same time, that if he should order their execution, there yet would be no want of Usbecks to desolate and injure his borders, nor by his pardoning these would the number of them be so much increased as to give him cause of alarm.

The Turkish prisoners, however, underwent quite a different fate, and were all of them decapitated, one excepted, who was pardoned. As, however, the sentence pronounced bore such an ambiguous meaning, I can but notice it: the King, in a civil and obliging manner, saying, *Cardasblari-jasbi-facla*, which signifies, "Take care of these brethren." On hearing these words, the poor wretches interpreting them as a pardon, particularly as they were released from their handcuffs, made a thousand reverences to the King, and bestowed on him a thousand benedictions; they, however, were scarcely out of sight, ere the guards who accompanied them drew their scymitars and slew them, when they least expected such a fate, cutting off their heads afterwards.

The grand seal is not that which is in highest esteem in Persia, although it be affixed to all patents and emanations from royal authority, (it is kept by the mohurdar, or keeper of the seal,) but a small seal, which is worn in a ring by the King himself; and which he uses in sealing all his letters to the Princes and governors of provinces.

At the festival of the Neu rouz, the Persians in office in various departments are changed, particularly the Daroga, or governor of the city. Among those who were nominated to employments this year was my particular mehimandar Tochta Bey, who was made Daroga of Hispahan, whither the King dispatched him with expedition, secretly entrusting him with matters of great importance. This was in a degree injurious to my concerns, as the haste which he was obliged to make caused him to omit that attention he was disposed to pay to my affairs.

On the 13th of April, which was Good Friday, being informed that the King had suddenly departed for Escref, and apprehensive that my reception might be delayed for a length of time, I deemed it proper to put him in mind of it in the best manner I was able. I therefore sent my compliments, according to custom with us, to all my friends, on occasion of the day, and particularly to the agamir, with certain presents; among them some confectionary, and eggs of different colours to play with; an amusement to which the Persians are so prone, that they cannot handle an egg without playing with it after their manner.

The agamir received my servants and little present with great politeness, and enquired who it was that had been appointed to visit me since the advancement of Tochta Bey; and learning that I had seen nobody, he was extremely angry, and dismissing my servants, informed them that the vizier of the city would not fail waiting on me the succeeding day. As promised, Tachi Mirza, the vizier, who is the King's lieutenant over all the province of Mazanderan, came to me so early in the morning that I had not yet risen; in order, therefore, not to detain him I received him in bed, and the better to conceal my sluggishness, told him I had been indisposed throughout the whole night.

In view of pleasing me, he told me that he waited upon me expressly by order of the King, as he mounted his horse the preceding day, and not in consequence of any

directions from the agamir ; at the same time making many excuses for his negligence in not having visited me before, taking blame to himself as if guilty of unpardonable rudeness. On his departure he left a written order, after previously enquiring the number of my people, for our being directly furnished with provisions for twenty days, that at the time being deemed the extent of His Majesty's stay at Ferhabad. He left with me also one of his servants, not only to take care I was properly provided with necessaries, but that he might always be at my call ; and taking leave of me, went to join the King at Escref.

On the last day of April I was visited by a brother of the vizier Muhammed Saleh Bey ; he informed me, that the King would remain somewhat longer than he at first intended, and gave me a new order for provisions. I learnt from him, that His Majesty would return in a few days to Ferhabad, and after stopping ten days or a fortnight, would remove with his army to Calvin, and thence to the frontiers.

It may not be unentertaining to you to be informed of the quantity of provisions allotted for our support, first describing to you the value of their different weights. The patman of the King weighs about 18lbs. of Venice, (19lbs. English) ; that of Tebriz, which is the weight by which we were served, 9lbs. of Venice, (9½lbs. Eng.) This is divided into quarters, called cheharek ; and these again subdivided into shah, and those into mithicali ; diminutive weights, the value of which I did not ascertain. The quantity assigned us then for a month was

250 Patmans of flour,

150 Do. of rice,

36 Do. of butter,

80 Fowls, 19 capons, 17 lambs, 600 eggs,

15 Patmans of chick-peas, 12 patmans of salt, 3 of spices of all descriptions, comprising anise, fennel, cummin, and the like ; particularly one cheharek of pepper, and one of cinnamon, and one shah of cardamum seeds ;

10 Patmans of pomegranate seed, dried in the sun ; the juice of which when boiled renders their ragouts excellent ;

27 Patmans of onions,

20 Do. of wine ; of which they were thus sparing, merely from its being represented to them that I did not drink of it in general.

50 Thick and long wax candles, weighing each three pounds ; one of which lasts more than one evening, and serves a second time in the inferior apartments, but not in the divan kanè ;

and 12 Patmans of tallow candles, burnt in silver candlesticks, with standishes to catch the tallow, which are placed on the carpet. The use of tallow is not considered degrading to persons of rank, it being burnt in the palace of the King himself.

This, however, is not the whole of our allowance of provisions ; we had besides,

5 Patmans of raisins without stones, called chiskmik, and in their pilão,

5 Do. of dry apricots,

5 Do. of vinegar,

10 Do. of cheese in small white pieces without rind, more resembling thick cream than cheese ;

20 Patmans of sour milk,

3 Do. of sugar, and a large flask full of white sugar, kept in such vessels alone ;



5 Large decanters of rose-water,  
 5 Patmans of honey,  
 1000 Oranges,

100 Patmans of barley for the cattle; besides fifteen chiles of land, assigned us for growing barley, to cut green in the months of April and May; each chile of land yielding generally ten horse loads; with these, 45 loads of wood for firing, completed our allowance; all of which was transported to my house with great exactitude, almost at the same instant of time, except some articles which we did not like, and presented to the servant of the vizier who attended us.

On the 1st May, the brother of the vizier waited on me again, to direct me, in consequence of an order he had received from the King, to repair to him at Escref as soon as possible, he being desirous of shewing me the buildings he had constructed there, before he left that part of the country; informing me at the same time, that if I would be ready by the next morning he would send a man to accompany me, and that it would not be necessary to take my baggage with me, as the King would remain there but a very short time. I accordingly prepared myself, and left Ferhabad in the morning of the 2d May, with the vizier's servant and those of my own, leaving the women and the remainder of my suite behind.

Escresf lays eastward of Ferhabad; the road thither is very even, and the mud in it being tolerably dry, our journey was pleasant. The country on each side was remarkably well cultivated, particularly in the neighbourhood of Ferhabad, and inhabited by an infinite number of Georgians and Armenians.

I saw growing about a number of plants which I had long wished to see, but in vain, such as chicory in abundance, thistle, and wild borage, with a different flower to ours. On the way I pointed them out to the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their value, particularly the endive. After travelling for a league we forded a river, somewhat broader than that at Ferhabad, which empties itself into the Caspian Sea. It is called Chinon.

At noon we rested for two hours in a town belonging to the Turkmans, called Chiarmian. It is situated on another small river, much resembling that at the Marana at Rome. According to custom we were regaled by the chief inhabitants, but as I had lunched off an excellent ham I ate but little. On remounting our horses we continued our course until five or six in the evening, passing through several towns and villages inhabited partly by natives of Mazanderan and partly by Turkmans.

At length we arrived at Escresf, which is about two leagues distant from the sea. It is situated at the extremity of a handsome plain, at the foot of some small mountains which cover it towards the south. It is at present an open place, which is only just begun to be built on. Nothing is yet constructed but the King's palace, which, indeed, is not itself complete; its gardens; a large street, the bazar, and some houses interspersed among the trees of the forest, and a large esplanade. It is, however, full of inhabitants; and, in order to encourage the frequency of more, the King, who delights in hunting, and meets with much sport here, whenever he winters at Ferhabad, passes a great part of his time at this place.

Springs and rivulets are here very abundant, the water of which is excellent. Trees also are very numerous, thick and of high growth, and the houses among them are so shaded by their foliage that they are scarcely visible; and so numerous that one is at a loss to determine whether it be rather a town in a forest or a forest in a town. On our nearing the palace, the man furnished me by the Vizier, rode on to acquaint the governor of my arrival, who immediately mounted his horse to meet me, with some of his people

on foot, gave me the right, the station of honour among the Persians, as well as contrary to the custom of the Turks, who give the left as a compliment, and assigned for my abode one of the best houses in the place.

This dwelling has a large court entirely shaded by the branches of trees, so as almost wholly to exclude the sun. In the midst of it, in the most umbrageous part, a small apartment, or rather a gallery, (as it is open on all sides,) has been erected, about the height of a man from the ground, to which you ascend by steps. In this place it is usual to receive company in the summer, and even to sleep, on account of its coolness. This place is common, and such galleries are called *bala kanè*, or high houses, from their being raised above the surface of the ground.

It must not seem extraordinary to you that such open apartments should be used to sleep in, the night air possessing no noxious qualities in these parts, nor even in any part eastward of the Mediterranean as far as here; nay, even west of its shores in the Archipelago, at Scio for example. The custom of sleeping exposed to the air throughout these quarters is so common, that illness would ensue upon the inhabitants resting in close apartments.

The vizier introduced me, therefore, into the *bala kanè*, where seated, we remained some time in conversation. Afterwards he repaired to the King, to acquaint him of my arrival; and returning shortly after, informed me that the King had bade me welcome, and would give me audience on the morrow. The vizier staid to sup with me; and every thing served me, as well on this occasion as at all my meals afterwards, was in a very nice manner from his own house. He remained with me for some time after supper, and ordering some of his people to abide with me to receive my orders, took his leave; telling me, he would wait on me in the morning to present me himself to His Majesty.

As usual with them, my bed was prepared in the *bala kanè*, it consisted of a mattress, with silk pillows, and a quilted counterpane of the same, but without sheets; instead of which was a *cit* Indiano, or *Balampour*, of a thousand colours. That I had no sheets must not surprise you, they are rendered unnecessary by the night-dress customarily worn, which is a shirt and drawers, or rather trousers reaching to the feet.

On the next day the vizier repaired to my house, and found me already dressed and waiting for him; but as it was yet early, he remained with me till the hour at which he expected I might be admitted to an audience. At length we mounted our horses and repaired in company to the palace, the principal gate of which fronts a very handsome and long street; arrived at which we alighted. We did not enter by a large meadow before the palace, but rounded it, ascending by a large square joining the palace on one side, to which one passes by a garden that no one is allowed to enter on horseback.

I found here a number of Georgians who waited upon the King to abjure their religion and become Mahometans; this induced a conversation between the vizier and myself; in which I learnt that liberty of conscience was allowed throughout the kingdom; and that the King was wholly indifferent to what religion his subjects professed, holding all as good, either the Mahometan, the Christian or Jewish faith; but these people, added he, are continually pestering His Majesty to become Mahometans.

At one end of the square, near the palace, there is a beautiful tree of great height, at which the first *corps de garde* is stationed. Here the Vizier left me in the shade to give advice of my approach, and receive the necessary orders; and after some time he returned to inform me, the King had ordered him to conduct me to the *divan kanè* of the garden, where the principal officers about the court awaited him. The floor of the *divan kanè*, raised only two steps from the ground, was covered with beautiful car-



pets, on which the officers of the court already assembled were seated. The Khan of Asterabad; the Corchibashi, or chief of the soldiery, called Corchi; Muharrab Khan; Delli Muhammed, surnamed Delli from his facetiousness, that word signifying sportive; a Sultan from the frontiers next to India; with several others of consideration. Besides these, on the opposite side, Sarù Kogia Bey, and the Effendiar Bey, a particular favourite of the King; and on the side fronting the west, that of least esteem among them, were several musicians with various instruments, such as violins, cymbals, lutes, and others, but varying in shape from ours, the strings of which were not only of catgut, but also of silk covered with wire.

On my entrance I was led to sit between the Khan of Asterabad, and the Corchibashi, as the most honourable station, the Vizier of Mazanderan remaining at the door; those officers in greatest familiarity with the King never sitting at his audience, but remaining standing to obey his orders. The rest of the assemblage kept their seats as on my arrival.

After remaining seated thus for some time we were served with dinner. What was prepared for us was brought by the garden-gate, the dishes being carried by as many persons following each other after the *maitre d'hotel*, of from eighteen to twenty years of age, without beards, who act as the King's pages, and dressed in the costume of Mazanderan; that is to say, in pantaloons, with a tight round frock fitting the body and reaching to the middle of the thighs; no turban, but instead a fur cap with the hair outwards, and the skin turned up at bottom to shew the cloth with which it is lined.

These kind of caps, called in Persia bork, are very common here, and are the same as for convenience-sake are worn in the house in lieu of turbans. The pages do not wear liveries, such not being used at all in these parts, but each was clad in a different colour to the other, according to fancy, and in various kinds of cloth, some embroidered with gold and others with silver, the bork being generally of a different colour from the pantaloons, and these again varying from that of the frock.

The dishes they carried were large as our basons, with high covers, either round or steeple-shaped, to cover the pyramids of pilão and other messes. The dishes were some of silver but mostly of gold, and, in order to make the greater shew, they were intermixed.

The *maitre d'hotel*, on reaching the divan kanè, knelt and spread before me and my two neighbours a cloth of moderate size of an octagonal shape, of gold brocade fringed, with gold tassels of different shapes and colour. On this cloth every thing placed was served in dishes of gold, and the meats they contained, notwithstanding it was seasoned after the country fashion, was truly a feast for a King. Besides these dishes, near each of us was a large porringer of the capacity of a small pipkin, full of acids, extracted from different matters, of which spoonfuls are occasionally taken during the repast, either to assist digestion or sharpen the appetite; to serve which, in each porringer, which like the dishes were of gold, a deep new spoon was put, made of aromatic wood, with a very long handle; these, however, serve but for one meal, never being used a second time.

Although we were not long at dinner, wine was served twice round to all the company according to rank; as I objected to a second cup I was much importuned, as those about me being prohibited the use of wine by their religion, and aware that no such injunction withheld me, considered my abstinence as a reproach.

While diverting ourselves in conversation the musicians kept playing continually, but in such gentle tones and so low as to be scarcely heard, so as to afford no interruption.

While

While talking, the cup which was of gold and the salver the same, kept continually moving, the quantity drank at each time, however, was small, and the Persians accustomed to these entertainments have good heads.

It was now late, when the King attended by some favourite officers of state, such as the agamir, the chief of the eunuchs, and some others, entered by the garden gate opposite to us. As well as the others, he was dressed in a very fine cotton vest of a lively green colour, laced over the breast; for, notwithstanding it be customary to lace them on the side, as I have elsewhere noticed, they are sometimes laced in front with orange laces. His drawers, or trowsers, were of violet coloured cloth, his shoes of orange shagreen or zigri, and his turban red and silver, striped. His broad sash was of various colours, as well as that above it, and the sheath of his scymitar of black shagreen, the hilt of bone; probably the tooth of some fish.

His walk was stately; his left hand on the guard of his sword, the point of which towards the sky, and the concave bend upwards according to the custom of the country. From caprice he is used to wear the wrong side of his turban before, which except himself, none is allowed to do.

As soon as we perceived the King at a distance, we incontinently rose on our feet, but without leaving our places. He advanced towards us with a measured pace, unsupported, at the head of those who followed him, according to general practice, whether on foot or on horseback. He is of middling stature, not lean but delicate, well built and proportioned, and of dignified port, notwithstanding he be now near nine and forty years old. Whether he speak, he walk, or simply look at you, he has constantly the appearance of great animation and vivacity; nevertheless, in spite of his perpetual restlessness, and his natural capriciousness, he constantly maintains somewhat of serious and grave, which plainly indicate Majesty. His face is rather handsome than otherwise, but his complexion is very dark, either naturally or owing to his frequent exposure to the sun. His hands are constantly dyed of a very dark colour with alcana. His nose is aquiline; his whiskers, which are long and hang down, as well as his eyebrows, are black: he wears no beard. His eyes are lively, sparkling and smiling, and as well as the rest of his countenance expressive of that greatness of mind and genius, in which he surpasses the whole of the Princes of the kingdom.

On the King approaching, the Sultan I before mentioned, as being with us who had come from the country over which he was appointed governor, on the frontiers of India and Jagatay, with four or five of the chiefs from those parts who accompanied him, advanced and kissed his foot, as is usual when Sultans or Khans repair to court from a distant country, and when they take their leave. This homage on the part of the Sultan was imitated by those with him, after which it was repeated by the Sultan and the rest, and again a third time, every one each time making a mysterious circle round the King. This ceremony being finished, the Sultan and those who accompanied him returned to the divan kanè and resumed his place. The King entered also, and, as did the others, left his shoes on the steps of the divan kanè; not so much as a mark of respect as for cleanliness sake.

Their shoes have heels to them, and are in consequence much more comfortable and pleasant of wear than our slippers without, and not being tied are as easily disengaged without stooping.

On the King's entering the divan kanè, my neighbours gave me a hint, upon which I left my place accompanied by the Corchi Bashi who was at my left, and retained that station, putting his hand under my arm as if to support me. The King seeing me advance,



vance, stood still; on getting near I made him a profound bow according to our custom, and kneeling on my right knee stooped, in view of kissing the hem of his garment, but he presenting me his hand and hindering me, I kissed it, and touched it with my forehead. On rising, while returning to my station accompanied as before, the King enquired if I spoke their language, and understanding from those with whom I had conversed that I did, he turned to me with a smile, and said *choşk ghiëldi, safâ ghiëldi* (truly welcome, very welcome); after which he assumed his place at the anterior part of the divan kanè, on the left hand as you enter, in the same spot in which Sarû Kogia was before. The King being seated here by himself, and Sarû Kogia opposite to him, we resumed our former position. Almost all the officers of rank who accompanied him standing about his person without the divan kanè, with some of those who before the arrival of His Majesty were seated with us.

The King at first kneeled down and sat upon his heels, which is considered the most respectful and humble posture, but which soon tires; after which he changed it for that manner of sitting peculiar to our tailors. After His Majesty had set us the example, we changed our previous, uncomfortable posture also, and sat with our legs across. After this he pulled off his turban and remained bare headed, notwithstanding it was night and the apartment open. This, I understood, is his usual practice, whether alone or in conversation. In this, we did not imitate him, it being considered an incivility to sit without a turban, not only when among persons of higher rank, but even among strangers or your equals. He afterwards ordered wine to be brought; this the Effendiar Bey, who stood without the divan-kanè, preparing in a hurry to present to the King, fell into a small reservoir of water at the foot of the steps leading to the place, which excited a hearty laugh at his expence, redoubled when upon his recovering himself, and again advancing, he broke the glass decanter which contained the wine against the joists of the door.

The King having drank, two or three pages standing in the room served us each according to rank, one after the other as before; the cups from which we drank being of gold, and that of the King of glass. On the cup being presented to me, the King noticing I did not take it with the same eagerness as the rest, observed, "perhaps he does not drink wine." I answered, "that I was little accustomed to do so, but felt it a duty since I understood it to be His Majesty's pleasure that I should, and that in mere momentous matters I was desirous of shewing him my readiness to submit to His Majesty's will." I thereupon emptied my cup, which was very small, for the second time that day; the wine, however, notwithstanding it was pure, was neither very strong nor very good.

In the mean time, a number of people came with the presents made by the Sultan on occasion of his visit to court. This custom appears of very great antiquity, the King of the Medes according to Philostrates never being visited even in the time of Apollonius without receiving presents.

This custom is general throughout the East among all ranks. Equals for what they give receive an equivalent; where the value tendered for that received be greater, it is considered an acknowledgement of superiority, where less, an assumption of the same on the reverse. Vassals make presents to their lords, who give back little in return. When Princes of similar power and equal authority make them, the quality and nature of what is tendered is preconcerted on each side. The Sovereign who receives them from an inferior Prince gives little or nothing in return. Thus the Turks, wont to receive from the King of Persia, render but a trifle; and the present war, as I conceive, originates

originates from the Shah disliking to give without an equivalent; and notwithstanding the expence of the war infinitely surpasses the value of the annual boon, peace is prevented by the pertinacity of the King in refusing the annual donation.

After the presents had passed in review, to which His Majesty paid little attention, unless indeed to some falcons, arrows, and instruments of war, he employed the remainder of the day in the expediting of various affairs, giving different commissions and writing several letters; he also listened to the reading of several by the agamir in so loud a tone of voice that we distinctly heard every syllable; among these was one from my former mehimandar Tochta Bey, now Governor of Hispahan, informing of the arrival of an ambassador expected from Spain.

His Majesty enquired of the courier, as is his general custom, respecting the ambassador, and where he was lodged; of me also, if he were the man of rank designated: on which point I satisfied him, informing him, that although he was personally unknown to me, I knew his family to be one of the most noble in Spain; and in answer to his question, whether a Castilian or Portuguese, acquainted him that notwithstanding he had possessions in both countries, he was a true Spaniard.

In this manner the King dispatched his various affairs, conversing first with one, then with another, the wine passing round all the while; I availed myself, however, of his being so closely engaged to pass my turn. At length lights were brought in; these were large iron pots into which rags and grease were put, at the end of sticks, and which when kindled give much more light than our torches. These are peculiar to persons of high rank; four of them were placed without the divan kanè in the open air, and wherever three or four are visible it is an infallible sign that either the King is on the spot or his haram. Within the divan kanè, a row of wax candles were disposed in gold and silver sticks, and a lamp of grease, such as I have before described.

Immediately after a collation was served, consisting only of provocatives to drinking, as without wine in this country there is no conversation. These, at the same time, very much prevent the wine from affecting, as by my own experience I am well enabled to ascertain. The entertainment continued thus till past one o'clock in the morning, the King all the time conducting himself with great familiarity, yet constantly preserving his dignity. After some time, the King called Delli Muhammed Khan, the jester, to come and divert him, condescending so far as to tell him, that if too idle to move, he would himself come to him. The guests upon this perceiving the Shah disposed to unbend, (as such perhaps is the custom,) withdrew one after the other, without any ceremony whatsoever, and making as little noise as possible.

For my part, a novice in these matters, I waited some time, expecting they might return, as I noticed that all were free to go out and come back; I remained some time; at length, fearful of being the only one left at table, I withdrew, and as I waited some time on the steps for my slippers, the agamir on one side, and the Governor of Mazanderan on the other, came to acquaint me that the King enquired for and wished to see me.

I returned immediately on this intimation, and having entered the divan kanè, knelt down in order to sit opposite to the King near Delli Muhammed Khan, but soon as the King perceived me, he told me he wished to confer with me, and made a sign for me to be seated on his right, with which I complied. Notwithstanding we were no more in the saloon than the King, Delli Khan, and myself, the musicians still continued to play in the same manner as before described, so as not to hinder conversation.

When seated, the King made many enquiries of me respecting myself, my profession, my family, and object in travelling; of the countries through which I passed; of Europe;



its politics; its religions; the power and views of Spain, respecting its ambassador; and many other subjects, reasoning upon my replies on the latter, and shewing himself in his conversation perfectly well informed of the religions, customs, and interests of Europe, a very widely-informed man, and a consummate politician. He detailed to me in return the cause of his wars with Gourgistan, as Georgia is called here; told me of Trimuraz, who had excited the Turks to war with him, having sought for assistance from the Tatars, but "what can they do with their arrows, which go *ter, ter*," said he, "let them come, let them come, I shall speak and do," putting his hand to his sword and assuming a menacing aspect; when recollecting himself, and apprehensive of too much presumption, he turned his eyes towards heaven and rebuked himself, exclaiming, *tòba, tòba*, expressions of regret and resignation to God; then turning the conversation to tactics, he shewed himself well acquainted with war, its instruments, the fittest for cavalry and infantry, and the various manœuvres in battle.

The lessons which he gave to the attendants about him on these subjects were listened to with minute attention and much approbation; for my part I observed, that it was only for masters to give such lessons, and that he was certainly qualified to teach from so much experience, and such great success as he had ever had. The King smiled at the compliment, modestly observing that what he had ever done was but of little value.

You must not, however, imagine that our discourse (which, as it embraced so many subjects, was consequently of long duration) passed without frequent reference to the cup; a practice common with the King, less with him for its being the custom of the country than to allow his penetrating mind to work into the recesses of the hearts of those with whom he converses, and with courtesy and the assistance of Bacchus to draw from them their most secret thoughts.

After continuing thus conversing, and drinking sometime to a great excess, yet without ill consequences to myself, Delli Khan, upon the cup passing with greater briskness, knowing it to be the signal for departure, withdrew so silently that I saw his place empty before I noticed his retreat. Yet, seeing the King did not rise, I thought it improper to do so before him. At length he made a sign, observing longer sitting was superfluous, and putting on his turban leaned against a pillar of the divan kanè, where he was surrounded by the musicians, who continued to play very gently. Hereupon the Vizier of Mazanderan, who was on his feet as well as the other officers, beckoned me to retire, which I did without saying a word, making a slight bow as I passed the King, which was dispensed with by the courtiers. The vizier assigned me some of his people to see me home, remaining with the King, who is wont to continue in this posture, a prey to an habitual melancholy, listening to the music: sometimes when he thinks of it, retiring to the haram.

On Saturday the 5th of May the King left Escref for Ferhabad, yet not by the direct road, in order that he might enjoy the diversion of hunting, as he is wont; his ladies accompanying him on horseback, and they alone, in order that his horses, with the baggage and his train, might travel on at leisure; as when the King removes, all his people go at the same time. For my part, I did not leave Escref that day, the King having directed that the apartments and gardens of the palace, when all should have departed, should be shewn me; and for that purpose, I was waited on the same evening by the Vizier of Mazanderan.

We entered by the great and principal gate of the palace, which opens on a long and beautiful avenue of great breadth, ornamented at present only by simple hedges and

out to me other spots on which it was intended to erect caravanserai, squares, baths, and other buildings, for the habitation of the people which the King was continually sending thither.

Beyond the gate, which none are allowed to pass on horseback, is a very handsome meadow of great extent, where those amuse themselves who go to pay their court or wish to see the King; for, unlike with us, the Shah never gives audience in the apartments of his palace, but in the open air; either, if on foot, in the courts, or on horseback, in the public squares. On the left as you enter the meadow is a beautiful hill, raised partly by nature and in part by art, at the foot of which a bath is built for the service of the town, the revenue from which belongs to the King. On the summit of the hill a private garden has been laid out for the ladies, inclosed by strong walls flanked with towers.

I was introduced into this garden, which is even of great capacity, abounding in odoriferous plants and various fruits, but particularly oranges and lemons. Vegetation of all kinds, from the warmth and moisture of the climate, and the abundance of water which falls from the neighbouring mountains, succeeding admirably. I did not, however, notice any espaliers, fountains, or similar ornaments to those with which our gardens are replete.

The water runs in the middle of the alleys, which are paved with stone, in little straight canals, and not on each side the walks as with us. In the middle of the garden, at the union of the four principal alleys which cross each other, an octagonal house is built, of several stories. The apartments in it are handsomely painted and gilt, but very small, and constructed only for sleeping rooms, or to rest in. This building is destined exclusively for the women, and none are suffered to enter it except the King.

Upon quitting the ladies' garden we went to visit that of the King, situated opposite to the hill beyond the meadow on the left at entering. One enters through a small garden, and by an avenue which leads to the great garden, in the middle of which is the divan kané, in which the King gave me audience. On entering, a great gate presents itself, on which is a fountain which throws its water as high as the roof of this building, whence it is conducted into different apartments and balconies, and supplies several small *jets d'eau* which spring from their floors.

This house, as well as the other, is very small, and the number of apartments on the various stories are almost infinite. They are consequently very narrow rooms, although well painted and gilt, and ornamented with exquisite miniatures of great cost. On every side are numerous balconies, with Venetian shutters and large curtains.

Of the apartments, one was contrived to have a beautiful effect; on each of its four sides were two large looking-glasses in the form of windows, one on one side and one on the other of the four doors or windows, which, on every side reflecting, gave the appearance of so many rooms similar to that in which they were. The floors of several of the most private rooms were strewed with mattresses of rich brocade, for convenience on being seated, or for sleeping on, and such as had not their mattresses were covered with carpets of great value. The paintings throughout the palace, although the colours be beautiful, were very badly executed; the painters here being no Titians.

At length, after shewing me every thing that there was to be seen, the vizier that same evening set out on horseback to join the King; for my part, not caring to travel by night, I deferred my departure till the next morning, and arrived at Ferhabad by a different road to that I left it, in such good time as to be able to dispatch a letter for Italy by an American courier departing for Hispahan.



On the road returning I dined in a village where I stopped to rest, a number of which I passed through on my way, noticing every where in the fields bala-kanè elevated on posts, the ascent to which in lieu of stairs (to prevent intrusion of animals, as they are in the open country) is by a sloping post with knotches on each side of it. These bala-kanè are not inclosed by any thing but a slender matting, which can be let down or raised at pleasure, so as to admit the air and exclude the sun or rain. In one of these I dined off several dishes brought by some of the village, and after sleeping a short time I mounted my horse, and crossing the Chinon in another part arrived at Ferhabad.

I observed, during my stay afterwards at Ferhabad, no more than two things; the one the solemn and general almsgiving, which is continual at the gate of the King, to the Sophi, who call themselves religious persons of the Persian sect; and the other, the circumstance of the King disposing of thirty women from his haram, to whom he gave each a husband, as he is accustomed frequently to do. The manner of his dismissing his wives is as follows.

He gives each of them a camel for to enable her to perform the journey she has to make; a kiechève, that is to say, a covered litter, such as is used in this county to ride in more conveniently on the camel's ribs on one side, and in the other to put a coffer filled with her things, that is to say, a silk bed or rather mattrass, a pillow and coverlid, dresses and linen, her gold, her jewels, and every thing belonging to her; as all of them, according to their rank and birth, possess either less or more property. When she who leaves the haram happens to have been in any esteem, her equipage and cloaths, without which none are dismissed, are worth from one thousand to two thousand sequins, which in the East, where a woman brings nothing to her husband, is in course a handsome portion.

Thus having detailed the whole of what I have noticed, here I am now preparing for a new journey, the King being on the point of departure with the army for Calvin, whence he means to advance directly to the Turkish frontiers, and wheresoever the chance of war and the good of the kingdom may call.

Hitherto I have written from Ferhabad, and counted upon sending my letter thence, brought down to the first or second week in May, but was prevented for want of a trusty messenger, and the sudden departure of His Majesty, immediately followed by mine; and as I have an opportunity of sending it by an Augustin lately arrived from India, and proceeding direct to Rome, I shall add, if the time will permit, an account of all that has occurred up to the present date.

The King, receiving some particular news from Turkey, left Ferhabad in haste for Calvin, on the 11th of May. Soon as the King leaves any place the soldiers about his person decamp immediately and follow him wherever he goes, without knowing whither nor even the time of his departure an hour before it takes place. This, however, is no ways inconvenient to the army, as from such things being customary all are constantly prepared. The King, however, bent his course out of the direct way, rather towards the province of Ghilan, in order to take the diversion of hunting, the guards, who were ignorant of this, making direct for Calvin on the same road as to Hispahan from Ferhabad, as far as Firuz-cuh.

I was not made acquainted with the hunting party in Ghilan, or, as you may well imagine, I should not have been absent whatever the inconvenience to myself; but as the Vizier of Mazanderan informed me, that if I accompanied the King I should not have an opportunity the more for conversing with him, as he would be constantly with the ladies, but should likewise have to undergo vast fatigue. I followed his recommen-

dation, and set off with the army direct for Casvin, on the evening of the 13th of May, travelling constantly by night in order to avoid the heat, which already, when the sun was up, was scarcely tolerable, and reposing in cool shades during the day. In this manner we reached Firuz-cuh in four or five days, the roads being dry and in good order.

Our first halt was in the city of Sarù, at the house of the hosts who had treated us so civilly before, and who expected us at the door on hearing the army was passing. After passing through the forest, which had been our resting-place, and Tatara Pesh, we stopped at a wretched stage called Shirgah. Our third day's journey was only of four leagues, on account of the mountains, and leaving behind us Girèt, the town inhabited by the ladies who treated us with such kindness, we proceeded to Mioni Kiele, where we lodged before. Our fourth halt was in the neighbourhood of the ruined castles at the commencement of Mazanderan; the ruined castle but a short distance from the highway is called Abund. Our march of this day was no more than four leagues, on account of the slow pace of the camels, and the place of our encampment for the night was a delightful valley at the foot or rather on the slope of the mountain. Beyond the valley on a small mountain we discerned a number of black tents belonging to Arabs of the province of Mazanderan, who in the winter repair to the towns and villages, but live in tents in summer, and tend their flocks on the mountains.

As soon as our tents were pitched some very affable and obliging women repaired to them and presented Madame Maani with milk and other things to eat, and after regaling them in turn, and keeping them to dine with us, Madame Maani was curious of seeing the structure of their tents, and accompanied them back. I was also of the party, and at the bottom of the valley, near a rivulet, I discovered a quantity of wormwood, and several other odoriferous plants unknown to me. On our entering one of the tents, which although of coarse quality, was abundantly stored with all kinds of necessaries and furniture, even to carpets, and which belonged to the person who conducted us; those from all the other tents, particularly the women, flocked to see us. We had no sooner got within the tent than we were again pressed to eat, which to have refused would have been uncivil. Among the articles presented us by the women, and which pleased me greatly, was some milk cheese of a particular kind that had been twice churned, and had been broken in pieces with a spoon in a sweet liquor called dushiab, very commonly used by the orientals in their ragouts; besides this, esteemed a great delicacy, we were served with various dishes of meat, and muscovado sugar as it came from the cane, in the company of nearly twenty matrons and maids, who by their beauty as much as by their polite manners, conversation, and pastoral life, reminded me of the Arcadian shepherdesses as described by the poets. Certainly, in grace and courtesy, they could not have excelled these of Mazanderan.

Making them first presents of scarfs, veils, and other trifles, we took our leave, and after loading the camels proceeded on our journey, travelling through all the night, and arrived an hour before day-rise at Firuz-cuh, four leagues from the frontiers of Mazanderan, where we rested for the fifth time.

The King was not yet arrived at Firuz-cuh, nor was it known even when he would arrive; learning, however, that the hunt would take place in a valley between certain mountains, about two leagues distant from Firuz-cuh, out of the high-road, I went mid-way thither on Sunday the 20th of May, where, in a plain of great convenience, on account of the plenty of water and forage, I encamped on the banks of a river, near a small hamlet of three or four houses, called Nemevan, and as, in all likelihood, I should have



to remain there some days, for the first time I pitched the whole of my tents, forming a court, a parlour, a bed-chamber, and anti-chamber, a gallery, and other necessary places.

On the 22d I resolved on taking a view of the spot where the hunt was to take place, and the same time pay a visit to Effendiar Bey, who had arrived to make preparations as well as Muhammed Saleh Bey. The way from my tent to the spot was by a very narrow passage in a mountain, through which a large rivulet flowed amid the protuberant and rugged rocks with great impetuosity, making a great noise in its fall. This is the same rivulet which flowed by our abode, and in passing through the mountain we were obliged to march in its bed for the length of a musket shot. The passage, however difficult it appeared, was easy, so much so as to be practicable for people on foot; when, however, the waters are swollen not even horses can pass it. Beyond this cleft we came to a most beautiful valley, about two miles in circumference, intirely enclosed by mountains.

The King, intending this spot for the scene of the hunt, had dispatched several thousand men from the borders of Mazanderan to drive the various wild beasts in the valleys and mountains round about to this spot. In a certain part of the valley, grown over with trees, he had caused a hedge to be made of branches as strong as a wall, all across the valley, and as high as a man on horseback, to prevent the animals escaping from the scene of battle, and in order to hinder their getting out by these acclivities of the mountains, large nets made of strong cord were extended round the whole, as high again as the hedge described, so that the most nimble animals could not overleap them. The number of nets sent for this purpose from Ferhabad loaded three hundred camels.

It is usual for the King to take his station in middle of the valley, and kill as much game as he pleases, either with his fowling-piece or sword; it is also customary to take some alive, to the ears of which little plates of gold are fastened, with the hunter's name inscribed; and some have been caught with these appendages, having the inscription of King Tahamasp, Ismael Sofi, and many other very ancient monarchs.

And, in order that the ladies may share in the diversion, a long gallery is built for them without the netting, closed with Venetian blinds, whence they fire at such of the animals as come within shot, and shew great skill with the gun. When, however, there are no men in the valley, so many Cynthias, they descend into the midst and kill them with arrows or the sword.

Effendiar Bey, who had the direction of all these matters, took pleasure in shewing and describing them to me. The gallery he had planned so well that it took but two days in completing, notwithstanding which the workmanship of it was extremely nice. The King being now at hand with his haram, the Effendiar Bey, the brother of the vizier, and all the others who had come hither to hunt, and had, as well as these noblemen, spread themselves over the valley, retired to the extremity of the vale, close to the passage through the rivulet, leaving the rest of the meadow clear, it being thought indecorous to remain where the King's wives may appear.

And now, as opportunity occurs, I shall describe the mode of travelling adopted for the haram. The King's wives, that they may not be seen, always travel by night, and when they travel without the King it is always in a sort of panniers on camels, in one of which they ride themselves on the camel's side, while on the other is a chest which serves as a counterpoise. These panniers, however, are constantly covered, and close like those of all other women; and when the panniers are fastened on, the muleteers after empty-

ing them leave every thing else to the eunuchs, who cause the ladies to get in them at ■ distance from the muleteers.

This method is new, the muleteers formerly helping the ladies into the panniers. The cause of the discontinuance was owing to the following circumstance. The King travelling one night on horseback by himself with the army, incognito, as is usual with him, perceived the loading of one of the camels had slipped down on one side, whereupon calling the muleteer to set it to rights, and he not appearing, the King to ease the camel himself put his shoulder to the pannier, but finding it rather heavier than it should be, and seeking the cause, he discovered the muleteer comfortably reposed in the lady's arms, without any regard to the majesty of him he offended, or care for how the camel went. The King, upon this, immediately ordered the heads of the lady and her gallant to be severed, and since then eunuchs have been substituted for muleteers, in helping the ladies into their panniers. When, however, the King travels with them they constantly ride on horseback, with their veils raised. The King, who is then attended by eunuchs alone, rides in the midst, joking with them, and occasionally hunts. Whether, however, they travel by themselves or with the King, they are constantly thus preceded.

Four eunuchs ride at least a league before them to clear the road and oblige all to retire, the punishment of death being awarded for merely looking on the King's wives; and if they should in the day-time have occasion to pass through some town or village, the inhabitants are ordered to quit it or shut themselves up till they have passed. Afterwards follow a body of these, who clear the way, and drive, wound, or even kill such as remain; then the haram, with the eunuchs, if by itself, in panniers on camels, or as before noticed, if accompanied by the King, on horseback; a troop of soldiers follow, called Jafachi, or the King's guards, wearing the tag and an arrow, the point fixed in the turban, and the feathers pointing upward.

To return, however, to the hunt. His Majesty understanding I wished to be present, stated he would acquaint me when it began; but, contrary to expectation, the quantity of game was so trifling, not exceeding fifty pieces, that he did not think it worthy my attention; he, however, ordered an antelope to be brought me. Thus, I was neither ■ party at the hunt in Ghilan nor here; in the one place owing to ignorance, where the sport was excellent, and in the other, with knowledge of it, for want of game.

The same evening we loaded our camels a little before night, and marched with the camp which followed the King. From Ferhabad the road runs constantly south; from Firuz-cuh to Casvin it has a western direction. Firuz-cuh is a frontier town; on one side of it lays Irak, on the other Mazanderan, and by the road we took to Casvin, bordering Media, if I mistake not. This night we forded two rivers, the names of which I did not learn, one on this side of the mountains, the other between them in a deep valley. We traversed a succession of very high mountains, very difficult to descend on account of their steepness, and the roads shocking. The whole of these mountains, which form the frontiers of Media, the country where grows the animum, were covered with a certain plant then in bloom. Its stem was loaded thick with flowers of a yellow colour, forming a pyramid, small leaves, and in addition long filaments. When the plant seeds, which in some specimens it did at this time, each flower is supported by an oval pod full of grain, which, as well as the flower, is of ■ yellow colour. The green leaf of the stem resembles that of the violet.

After seven leagues march, passing over mountains in the way, we rested for the first time at the entrance of certain extensive plains, bordered by mountains, by the side of a clear



clear rivulet, in a meadow producing excellent grass. The second night I left Madame Maani and the luggage behind, and hastened forward, desirous of joining the King, that I might not be chargeable with negligence.

I travelled, therefore, with great expedition, passing through several villages and towns, one of which, of some size, called Ghilas or Ghilar, where I rested for three hours, after having crossed a river which runs below the town over a bridge of stone. At dawn, I set forward again, and journeyed on foot three or four hours, when I forded another river called Giageron, both deep and rapid; the bridge over which was in ruins. After riding thus ten or twelve leagues, a little past noon I arrived somewhat fatigued at the city of Taheran, at a league from which, near a mosque, in high veneration among the Mahometans, the King was encamped with the greatest part of his troops, the remainder being behind with the baggage.

Taheran is a large city, more spacious than Cashan, but not well peopled, nor containing many houses, the gardens being extremely large, and producing abundance of fruit of various descriptions, of such excellent quality, that it is sought for by all the circumjacent country. The Khan ordinarily resides here, on which account the other cities yield it the palm as capital of the province, which also is called by the name of the city Taheran, and extends along the road from Firuz-cuh, as far as the mountains we traversed the first night. All the streets in the town are watered by a number of considerable streamlets, which serpentine in the gardens, contribute not a little to their fertility. The streets moreover are shaded by beautiful lofty plane-trees, called in Persia chinars; some of them are so extremely thick, that it would take from two to three men to clasp them round. Excepting these, Taheran possesses nothing, not even a single building, worthy of notice. The King setting off on Thursday, we followed his example.

We travelled all the night, preceded by the King and his whole train of camels, and by day-break, after six leagues, arrived at a considerable town called Kierè, which likewise gives name to a river, over which is a handsome stone bridge. Here I took up my abode for the day in a handsome new apartment, open on the sides, built on the river by order of the King, a little higher than the surface of the water, between two large arches. The water streaming below over a rugged bed with some violence, composed me so perfectly to sleep with its noise, that the King, who was desirous of reaching Calvin, and resting himself an instant a little behind us, had mounted anew, and rode over my head, attended by several cavaliers, without awakening me.

The succeeding night, instead of taking the regular road, on which there is a number of towns and villages, to shorten the way, the army took across an almost barren plain; after travelling six leagues over which, we rested on Saturday morning at a miserable village called Hauz-abad, whence on Saturday night we departed, and arrived on Sunday morning, the 10th of June, at Calvin.

The inhabitants of Calvin are not friendly to the soldiery, and purposely to prevent their selecting their houses for their abode, build them with miserable entries, inconvenient, and dark. We chose one, however, and were about to take up our abode in it; but as we should have to dislodge several women, as well as the men, who had no refuge, we chose rather to leave it, and pitch our tents without the town, near a clear running stream called Sheikh Ahmed, from the father of my former mehimandar at Ferhabad, who, while governor of this part, had turned its course this way to supply the city.

Calvin, called properly by the Italians Casbin, and in the epitome of Ferrari, Arfacia, is a large city, the capital of great part of Media, and formerly was the seat of empire of

of the Persians, till Shah Abbas took an aversion to it. It is not enclosed with walls, like other of the great cities of the empire, but is extremely populous, and a place of great trade, being a thoroughfare to so many different provinces. The houses are not well constructed, are very ugly within, and mostly in a state of decay, the distance and absence of the court having taken so many of its wealthy inhabitants away. The streets are not paved, but small, nasty, and so full of light dust, that there is no walking in them without being blinded. Its bazars are very ill built, although in them every description of merchandize and provisions is on sale. In short, this city has nothing in it to satisfy the expectations I had formed of a place, which, for so long a time, had been a royal residence.

There is in the whole place but two things worthy of observation; one, the gate of the King, or the royal palace; the other, the grand meidan or square.

The King's gate is neither painted nor gilt, like that of Hispahan; it is, however, very large, and of more majestic appearance. It is built in a spacious but uneven esplanade. The vestibule is very handsome and lofty, beyond which is a large court, planted with very high and lofty palms, under the shade of which is a pleasant walk, where those resort who wish to speak to or pay their court to the King.

The grand meidan or square is at a short distance from the palace, in a quarter of the town between that and the bazar. It is not indeed so handsome nor so large as that of Hispahan, but falls little short of it. Like that it is three times as long as broad, for the purpose of its being adapted the better to a game played here on horseback, for which two limits are constructed at one end of the square, and as many on the opposite. The porticoes round the square are ill built and old fashioned; but in the middle, on both one and the other side, two small palaces are raised, adorned with balconies; one of them, intended for the ladies, with Venetian blinds, and both of them with handsome gardens attached to them.

The King appears almost every evening on the meidan, where in consequence the nobility resort to make their bows and pay their court, being more secure of meeting with His Majesty here than at his levèr. On his first appearance, those he passes incline the head without bending the body, which reverence it is unnecessary to repeat, the Shah being careless of homage. All the time of the King remaining, pages attend to serve the King's guests and certain of the chief officers with wine, musicians playing the while on several kinds of martial instruments, after the Turkish, the Persian, and Usbeck fashions; the Turkish and Usbeck bands being merely used as trophies of the victories in which he captured them.

The game of pell-mell played on horseback, is somewhat like football with us. Two parties are formed of equal number, never exceeding five or six, who, with a light stick, unarmed with iron or lead, strike the ball forward, which is repelled, the party winning which first strikes it to the opposite limits. This is an exercise which requires great dexterity, as well in the horse as the rider, and is a favourite diversion, of which even the ladies condescend to be spectators, but in simple dresses with their veils down.

As before noticed, the courtiers on leaving His Majesty on the meidan make use of no ceremony, but go and come as they please; nor when he departs is it requisite to accompany him to the palace.

I am now going to fight the Turks, — believe me constantly your friend, and remember me in your prayers to the God of Battles, that we may be covered with success.



## LETTER V.

*Hispaban, 22d April, and 8th May, 1619.*

IT was the 11th June last year, when we arrived at Calvin. On the next morning the King gave a public audience in the interior portal of his palace, at which I was present. The King perceiving me, as a mark of courtesy sent his mehimandar to learn if any business or private matter brought me to the levèr; I answered him that my duty alone brought me thither to pay my respects. Among many matters promulged by the King, in a loud tone of voice, was his injunction to the public crier, that notice should immediately be given in every quarter of the city, that all soldiers should repair without delay to Sultania, about three days journey from Calvin, on the road to Tebriz or Tauris, thence to proceed wherever the good of the state might require.

This order was instantly executed by means of notices stuck up in every part of the city, as well as by a number of criers through all the streets, and on the same day, or nearly, by His Majesty's previous management, in almost every city of the kingdom, by which the people were satisfied there would be a war that year, of which before they were dubious. The Corchi-bashi, the King's son-in-law, was likewise directed to repair to Sultania, to attend to the distribution of and providing for the troops as they should arrive.

In the evening after the proclamation, in order to please the people, the Shah treated them with another game, in use among them, for the mob on foot. A wolf was turned into the midst of the square, which the common people, holding their cloaks before them, by making a noise and worrying, irritate till he rushes upon some one or other; here, however, they allow the wolf no time to injure, but dragging him off induce to pursue some other, who avoids him, or if caught, receives no hurt, from the number ready to assist. In the game itself there is no amusement; the principal pleasure arises on being present at such an exhibition from the joyous exclamations, and the exultations of so many hundred voices in concert. The games of pell-mell and the wolf, are the only public entertainments they have, and these are so frequent, that they were given every night on which there was no audience, or which was not a day for receiving presents.

On the 12th June, I slept for the first time in a house appointed me near the royal palace, as owing to the confusion consequent upon the army arriving, I, as well as others, had hitherto slept under my tents. The King, upon leaving the meidan, ordered the kizilbashi to appear the next day with their tags, which they do not always wear, on account of their being heavier than the common turbans. Those only of his officers immediately in attendance on him wearing them constantly.

From this ordonnance we conjectured, that something of consequence was to happen on the succeeding day in the square, whither we repaired earlier than usual. The audience to be given to the Turkish ambassador was the occasion of the extraordinary assembly which followed. This ambassador was sent to treat of peace, not on the part of the Grand Signor, but of his Serdar, or Lieutenant-General Hali Basha, who wintered in the city of Amid, the principal of the province of Diarbeckir, as they call it, but we Mesopotamia.

This ambassador had repaired to Calvin several days before the arrival of the King, but had not yet had an audience, so that he was admitted thereto on that day for the first time. The King did not choose to receive him in the palace, nor elsewhere with the ordinary pomp, but on horseback in the square, either on account of the ill treatment

his ambassador had met with from Sultan Ahmed, who reigned at the time of his being sent, and who would not see him to the day of his death, keeping him as a sort of prisoner, and this notwithstanding the opposite conduct of Mustafa, who succeeded him, and admitted him to his presence, behaving with great civility to him, and who being desirous of peace, had sent him to his serdar at Amid; or because the Shah wished to make a parade before the ambassador, and was really intent on war.

Whatever might be the cause, the King arriving in the meidan, attended by a multitude on horseback, we all assumed our proper stations, and the King, with two or three of his council, retired to the bottom of the square down one of its sides, riding gently along, and conversing as he rode. In the meantime, the mehimandar introduced the Turkish ambassador on horseback, with some of his people, at the opposite extremity. He did not, however, conduct him immediately to the King, but to the middle of the square, near a butt, at which the people are wont to shoot as a mark with arrows, and left him there in conversation, to wait for the King; this being the spot he most frequently repairs to, and on the sides the most honourable about the court and his guests are stationed, and form a circle about the King as near him as possible. The King, however, passed purposely another way, feigning at first not to notice the ambassador; at length he rode towards him. The ambassador then, after salutation, but without leaving his horse, as such is not customary, no one dismounting except, which is very rare, when the Shah tenders his hand or foot to be kissed, presented a letter from the serdar. The King, however, who is a profound politician, aware of its contents, and that it proffered conditions of peace he should be unwilling to accept, told the ambassador, that "He did not wish to hear any thing more, nor to see any further letters, but that all might be finally concluded in a few words, if the Turks were satisfied with keeping what belonged to them, and ceased to dispute the possession of what belonged to the Persians. If such were the disposition of the Porte, as was reasonable and just it should be, he was willing to conclude a peace; but if otherwise, further debate would be entirely useless."

He added, "That the Turks had had sufficient proofs of the value of the enmity of the Persians to make peace desirable, and incline them to listen to just and reasonable terms; that none desired peace more than himself, but that if forced to war by their arrogance and iniquitable pretensions, the blood of the myriads of innocent people which would in consequence be shed must be upon their heads, and that in such case he would place himself at the head of his troops. That the Turks might place their trust in the abundance of their wealth and the number of their soldiers, but that on his side, he had for him, his God, Mahomet, and Ali the tripod." He again repeated, "That peace might be concluded, the Turks keeping what they had, and the Persians the same."

The ambassador replied in so low a tone of voice, that I could not distinguish what he said, other than that the Turks could not make peace on such terms. The King then replied, "If reasonable terms are rejected, there is then no alternative but war. My kishbashi are not like your Turks, who wear large turbans and keep their hands in their sleeves for fear of the cold. No, they are prompt and active, they have nothing but their horse and a curved scymitar; are fitted for fatigue and impatient for war. If you will have war, I will place my wild Chircana (a falcon, punning on the name of his Lieutenant-General Carchio) at the head of my kishbashi, who shall pounce upon you, and reduce you to nothing. Nor think," added he, "that you will this year be more fortunate than the two last, under Serdar Muhammed Bey, when your troops



without affording any time to the ambassador for reply. Thus ended a conference on which was to depend the death or life of so many thousands of innocent persons. The behaviour of the Shah, however, who purposely spoke loud that all about in the square might hear him, was highly approved by the people and court, who testified their satisfaction in the manner usual on such occasions, exclaiming Allah! Allah!

The next day we received intelligence of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador at a town about a league distant from Cazvin, where he waited the King's orders for his entry into the city, in which a dwelling had been made ready for him. A number of the first people of the court, attired in the most superb dresses, with magnificent trappings for their horses, went out to meet him, and attended him to the gate of his house, where they took their leave; the Mehimandar alone, in virtue of his office, conducting him to his apartment, and myself as a Frank.

On the same day that the Spanish ambassador made his entry, the Turkish ambassador had a secret audience in the garden, at which none were present; and on Sunday, 17th June, he gave a public audience to the Spanish ambassador, in a garden which has but one large walk in the midst, and is at a small distance from the royal palace. This garden is called Gennet Bayhi, or the garden of paradise. He purposely received him here to accept his present at a time when a number of others were to be made him; and for the greater parade, invited more than a hundred persons of various nations, languages, and dress.

The present of the ambassador, exclusive of three hundred camel loads of pepper, left at Hispahan, was valued at one hundred thousand crowns. It consisted of vases of gold, silver, and crystal, and precious stones; besides these, a box containing sixty golden chains, enriched with emeralds; saddles and horse trappings, elegantly embroidered after the Spanish fashion; fowling-pieces, and other arms, embossed with gold; the sword worn by the King of Spain on the day of his marriage, covered with jewels, a number of files and other hard tools, several coats of mail, various portraits, (among others that of Anne of Austria, presented by the ambassador himself and not the King,) certain lances from America, and a number of other articles, all together employing five hundred men in carrying them.

Upon the King entering a little palace built in the middle of the garden, the ambassador was introduced with his present, which preceded him, those who carried it making a tour in front of this palace, and marching round the guests, who were seated about a canal adjoining, on rich carpets laid for the purpose *al fresco*, on account of the number of the guests being too great for the apartments of the palace; the procession afterwards filed off.

The order of precedence was as follows: The King, the Spanish ambassador, the Turkish ambassador, and the interpreter of the Spaniard standing, being apart from the company, in a casino open on all sides, and surrounded, except in front, where an alley led up to it, by water conducted from the canal.

The English were seated in a corner on the spot where the supper was prepared about the canal, even the ambassador had no other station, only the most honourable position among his countrymen; immediately above these were the Spaniards, but separated by a streamlet which ran between; after and higher up than them the Turks succeeded, beyond whom certain Curd and Arabian gentlemen then at court as the King's guests; above these the brother of the Prince of two countries called Chick-e-Macran, on the frontiers of Persia, on the ocean, and making part of ancient Caramania.

This

This Prince had constantly been inimical to the Persians, but having made himself master of a place of importance, he came to the court of Persia, to offer to hold it in feof of the Shah, provided he would assist him in maintaining possession of it against the Prince, his brother.

This nobleman, brother to the Prince, was a beardless young man, very elegantly dressed in his country fashion, in gold brocade, with a round turban, differing from that of the Persians, striped of various colours, with a large fringe of gold tassels and green silk floating on his shoulders, designating his descent from Mahomet.

The Mehimandar, who regulated every thing, stationed me immediately above this nobleman, considering it unfit I should be with the other Europeans, whom I surpassed in quality, so that the vizier of Mazanderan alone, and some of the principal persons of the province invited by the King, were placed above me.

The Usbeck Tatars whom the King pardoned, that they might relate on their return to their countrymen somewhat of the magnificence of the King, and the respect shewn him by foreign nations, were placed on one side, and much above them the emissaries from that nation at his court, whom he had not yet dispatched.

The entertainment was nearly a counterpart of that at Escref, of which I gave you a description, but lasted not so long on account of the Spanish ambassador finding the mode of sitting unpleasant in his European dress, and obtaining permission to retire early, in which he was imitated by the Turkish ambassador as well as ourselves.

In the evening of the 22d June, the King, in the middle of the meidan, shewed great civility to the Usbeck emissaries, and after representing to them that their country being at war with him could only draw destruction on the heads of the people; that although by their predatory excursions they might do injury to his subjects, they were constantly cut to pieces in regular engagements; that it was their interest as much as his wish that they should become his friends, and rather join his kizilbashi than oppose him, notwithstanding they were followers of Omar; that they might have seen what homage was shewn him by so many different Princes, and what respect from those powerful Kings who lived in friendship with him, concluding with enjoining them to give a faithful relation of what they had witnessed at his court to their Khan, as well as of the kindness they had experienced, that it might occasion a good understanding between them.

All this, in a solemn manner, the Usbecks promised to perform; and as they were much affected by the various marks of kindness they had received, and the obliging manner in which he addressed them, they twice dismounted to kiss His Majesty's feet, and prostrate themselves before him.

On the 25th July, the King set off early in the morning for Sultania, each of us following at our leisure. I travelled that night three leagues over a flat country, in very cold and windy weather, till I reached a village called Ghiveran, where I rested the whole of the next day. Well mounted I travelled nine leagues the next day, arriving at a city called Abher, from the quantity of water with which it abounds, and which, divided into numerous streamlets, runs through almost all its streets. The city is small, and beautifully verdant from the number of gardens it comprises full of fruit-trees and poplars.

On Friday night and Saturday morning we travelled eight leagues, arriving at noon at Sultania, where we found the King in his tents in the country, encamped in the middle of his troops, and though I travelled faster than my train, by its taking a nearer road I passed it just on my entrance into Sultania, and after ordering my tent to be pitched, I refreshed myself under the shade of a mosque, with bread, raisins, and some



of the most delicious water I had ever tasted, which the Mahometans are weak enough to imagine comes under ground from Mecca.

Sultania was formerly a very spacious city, at present it is a heap of ruins. It undoubtedly received its name from the quality of the individual by whom it was constructed. Sultan signifies in Arabic, power, or a potentate, and presumptively such must have been the title of the founder of the place, as asserted by the Persians in opposition to the Armenians and other Christians, who maintain it to have been built by Christians. According to the Persians, a Sultan of Tatar race of the Usbeck nation, called Muhammed Choda-bendè, built the city, and the handsome mosque it contains, changing its neighbourhood from a wilderness, by cutting canals and watering it, to the paradise it is at present, and peopling it by forcible measures, such as have lately been practised by Shah Abbas for populating Mazanderan. As, however, constraint, though it secure comfort or even enjoyment, is irksome, no sooner was Choda-bendè dead, than the inhabitants immediately forsook the place. The emigration was so considerable, that in one night no less than seven thousand camels left the place with panniers, in each of which was a woman, thus carrying off fourteen thousand.

We Europeans are upon an excellent footing with Imamculi Khan, whom I visited in company with the father Vicar, who had arrived at Sultania, to present the Shah with a translation of the Psalms of David into Persian. On this occasion, the Khan shewed us great kindness, treating us with excellent sweetmeats and other articles remaining from an entertainment he had given the King the day before, and moreover sent two large basons full to my house, a very common custom in Persia. The same day I both paid and received a visit from the Mehimandar, who informed me that the army would shortly move to Tebriz, under the conduct of his brother Daud Khan; that the King only repaired to Ardebil, on account of intelligence he had received that the enemy meant to attack him in two different quarters; the Turks, with the Serdar at their head, by the way of Tebriz; and Teimuraz Khan, at the head of the Tatars and other auxiliary troops, by the way of Georgia. Ardebil, as being midway between these two parts, was chosen by the King for his head-quarters, the communication thence being easy with each place, and an opportunity at the same time being afforded him of preserving the sepulchre of his forefathers, which is in this place.

The whole of what was told me by the Mehimandar was verified by the event, the army moving that very night for Tebriz. We, the King's guests, however, remained with the King, and the small army about his person. I was pleased on the one hand with having an opportunity of visiting Ardebil, which is a city of note, yet vexed at not seeing Tebriz, a much more famous city, and for the possession of which we were to come to blows. It would also have been far more grateful to me to have been opposed to the Turks, who are Mahometans and my aversion, than the Tatars, who are some of them Christians, and headed by Teimuraz, a Prince for whom, without even having seen him, I have a secret affection.

Upon further intelligence received by the Shah, the army halted, and a grand entertainment was resolved upon, which took place, and at which several of the guests were so far overcome with wine as to be carried away, and I myself was so much surprised, that when about to depart, I could not put on my slippers at the steps of the Divan Kanè. I recovered, however, amazingly, and rode home somewhat more full of talk and merrier than usual.

On Wednesday, however, the 1st of August, in consequence of advices received by the King, orders were issued under heavy penalty, for all belonging to the army to march



march to Tebriz, which accordingly was done; none remaining about the King but his guests, certain of his nobility, officers of State whose presence was necessary, and part of the division of Imamculi Khan, that His Majesty might yet have sufficient about him to impress an awe on the enemy.

It may not be amiss here to give an account of the manner of formation of the army, and the order of the soldiery in Persia.

There are four divisions or orders of soldiery in Persia, the fuzileers, the King's slaves, the kizilbash, and the corchi.

The first, yet last in point of rank, the fuzileers, is a modern institution, at the recommendation of Sir Anthony Shirley, an Englishman. This order is composed of the native inhabitants of the country, and is similar to a militia. In Persia, however, the individuals of this order receive pay quarterly from the King, and are bound to appear at his summons. The gentry, those I mean who are called kizilbash, do not enrol themselves in this order, but only those called *reaiet*, that is to say, vassals or *tat*, composed of the refuse of the nation. In the beginning, these fuzileers fought on foot, however now they are mounted, and fight on horseback, with guns somewhat smaller than our muskets, with matchlocks, which have a fork fastened by a cord to the stock, by which, when they dismount, they have a rest for taking aim by. This description of soldiery is in high esteem with the King, and is a very useful body.

Of this body of men, the total collected by the Shah from the various provinces of his empire, amounts to 20,000, who, as *tat*, do not wear the tag, but merely a plain turban.

The second order of soldiery, considered more noble than the preceding, is that of the King's slaves, or vassals, all of whom were originally Christians, either bought or furnished by various nations; such as the Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, and the like. At present, however, they are mostly Georgians and mussulmen, either from their having been brought up in that faith, or their having apostatized. These, like the former, fight on horseback, and make use of different arms, such as pikes, arrows, guns of the description before noticed, iron loaded sticks, scymitars, and daggers. There are none but carry a kind of light hatchet, the iron of which is rounded at one end, and on the other a little curved and pointed. The bow and arrow, considered by the King as useless, are by degrees laid aside, and replaced by fire-arms, as well among these as the rest of the soldiery. The King's slaves are allowed on certain occasions to wear the tag. They have one particular general and several captains.

The number of these slaves in the immediate service of the King, enrolled as soldiers, exclusive of those dependant on the various khans and governors, is 15,000.

This establishment, as well as the preceding, is of modern date, and owes its origin to the reigning Sovereign.

The third description, more noble than the latter, is the kizilbash, which is composed of thirty-two tribes, sixteen of which are called of the right hand, and the same number of the left, from their taking these several sides of the King: of the privileges and quality of these, I have before given you an account. They are free, independant, and serve as long as they are paid, being at liberty to change their masters when they please, from one khan to another, or to the King, and from the King to a khan, as seems best to them. Not all the kizilbash are soldiers, but as almost all the lands are in the hands of the Shah, or his governors or khans, for subsistence they are obliged either to make choice of the profession of arms, or exercise some kind of trade, handicraft, or husbandry; in consequence, the number of those not soldiers is very



Moreover, their different tribes are not equal in point of number, some consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men, and some of not more than five hundred. Of some of them all are soldiers, of others but few.

This body has always had great preponderance; the various kings appointing their kings and governors from among their tribes; as owing to their exertions the present dynasty was seated on the throne. Shah Abbas, however, secretly detests them, and endeavours by all means to undermine and lessen their influence, frequently punishing their chiefs, and keeping them rather in fear of him than seeking their affections.

Of these, there are in Persia at least seventy thousand, of which fifty thousand are in the King's pay, or that of his khans.

The fourth order of soldiery, and the most noble, is that of the corchi, or the King's guards, chosen from among the kizilbashi, and entirely and immediately in the pay of the Shah himself. These seldom go without the tag, being almost constantly about the royal person.

The number of these is about 12,000; their arms the same as the other kizilbashi, and like all the other soldiers composing the army of Persia, these are cavalry.

The whole of the main force of Persia consists, therefore, collectively, of 97,000 cavalry. This number is, however, subject to great variation, it being sometimes more and sometimes less.

Whenever the army marches, the greatest silence and regularity takes place, neither trumpets sound or drums beat; and as all the officers and principal persons take their servants and family with them, the number of the army is swollen prodigiously; yet, notwithstanding the immense numbers, the greatest abundance constantly reigns in the camp during its march, so much so as to make it a saying in the country, "That the army of the King is one of the finest and best provided cities in Persia." Unlike in many countries of Europe, its march is a blessing instead of a curse for the countries through which it lays; and so far from shutting up their houses and flying from it as a pestilence, the people from great distances from its line of march, hasten to bring it every kind of necessary, and even delicacies of all sorts. Discipline is so regularly preserved, that every thing is paid for, and excesses are unknown. The severity of Abbas, for any encroachments on the property of his subjects, I have had occasion to notice. When encamped near Ghivi, some people had erected their tents, rather inconsiderately, in the meadows, where they suffered their camels to graze at the expence of the proprietors, for the sake of saving a few pence. The inhabitants, in consequence, complained to the King, who ordered certain of his officers to go with them to the spot, where they cut the tents in pieces, not sparing even that of the King's musicians, removing the cattle, and taking the owners to prison. The vizier or lieutenant of a khan, having been more guilty than the rest, and having had the audacity to take some of the fruit from one of their gardens without paying for it, notwithstanding his rank, was tied hand and foot, carried to prison, and when taken thence, with an arrow thrust through his nose, he was led round, and exposed to the view of the whole army.

To return, however, to the route. The army filed off towards Tebriz, while we remained with the King in Sultania, where, on the 3d of August, we received intelligence that Teimuraz Khan had not separated from the serdar; a number of other vague accounts were brought. At length, on the 5th of August, the tents were struck, and our march began for Ardebil.

The province of Irak terminates at Sultania or its neighbourhood, where begins that of Adherbeigian, which comprizes a great part of Media.

Our army began its march at day-break, and after two leagues arrived at a city called Zengan, but spelt Zengian, signifying moans and tears. It assumed this name after having been taken and sacked by some Tatar Prince, who immolated all its inhabitants in a most brutal manner. It is now but a small city, without walls, situated on the slope of a hill, and apparently was once a place of greater consideration.

The army did not stop here, nor myself, save to refresh, the baggage being sent on. From this place, the King took a witch, having much faith in divination and incantations, or at least pretending to have, in order to enchant the foldiers of the enemy.

On leaving this town, we distinguished two roads, one towards the west, leading to Tebriz, the other rather eastward, running to Ardebil, which latter we followed. After marching about three leagues, we pitched our tents and halted for the night on the banks of a small stream called Sarmufak-chiai, or garlick river.

On the 6th of August, after four leagues of way, we halted early near a river which ran by the road; but as in one spot its water was insufficient to quench the thirst of so great a number, our tents were pitched so far asunder, that the foremost was a half day's journey from the last.

The heat being great this day, our plan of march was changed, and begun at three hours after sunset. On Wednesday morning we still continued our march, crossing several small hills and beautiful valleys cloathed in green, although entirely bare of trees, as is the case with almost the whole of Media, which, in the part we traversed, is mountainous, lofty, and cool. The mountains, nevertheless, are very pleasant, their tops being almost level. A little before noon, after travelling six leagues from the place where we encamped the night before, we stopped to rest ourselves at a village called Jenghigè, or New. We found ourselves, however, much embarrassed for want of sufficient water.

Here our stay was short, for night coming on, we continued our way, and after marching two leagues came to a very deep valley, which we had to descend from the mountains by such a narrow and winding path, and so steep at the same time, that with difficulty we could even lead our horses down one after the other. After which, on the opposite side of the valley, as unpleasant an ascent offered itself, but of nearly double elevation. You may readily picture hence, that with this going down and going up, together with the crowd, at a narrow bridge in the middle of the valley, over an unfordable river, the confusion of the passage must have been great, and the accidents numerous.

For my part, after passing the bridge at the bottom of the valley, having, in company with a few others, by galloping on before, got considerably the start of the main army, we rested for the night in a little spot out of the high road, surrounded by cedars of Lebanon, but very small, with which all these mountains are covered.

On Thursday, in the morning, I was joined by Madame Maani on horseback, and with much difficulty ascended the opposite bank. From the summit of the mountain we descended to that we attained, notwithstanding the vale was extremely narrow, was at least two leagues. Its acclivity passed, we travelled on to a village a league beyond of no consideration. Here we remained all the day. The army, however, did not rest here, but proceeded a league farther, to a flat country, where was plenty of water, and was wisely followed by my baggage: respecting the latter, I was under alarm, it, however, joined me by night; and hastening on, I reached the spot where the army had encamped about two hours after sunrise. It had just departed, but my camels with the litter being greatly exhausted, I was resolved on waiting at a village in the neighbourhood called Cabagh, requesting the vicar, if he overtook my muleteer, to send him back.



Cabagh, where I rested for some time, is six or seven leagues from Jenghigè; hence on Friday morning, the vicar having met with my people about a league and a half from where I was and sent them back, I repaired to that spot, where in a pleasant valley they had pitched my tents, on the margin of a small river, which serpentineed through the meadows belonging to a neighbouring village called Ghivi.

Here a part of the army was encamped under tents at some distance from each other, but the King with the remainder, forming his ordu, were in a strong place in the mountain called Kalkal; where he not only intended to pass some time in hunting, but also proposed to leave his tents, baggage, and every thing cumbersome during his stay at Ardebil. In this he was also copied by those who attended him. My wife, however, Madame Maani, understanding that the King's ladies repaired to Ardebil, resolved on accompanying me thither. After marching all night, therefore, for about five leagues, on Sunday morning, two or three hours after sunrise, we rested near a mill on a small eminence, ornamented by a number of trees, grouped in the most beautiful manner imaginable, and a running stream which fell below a small village in the road, called Tagibuyuc, or great crown. This village belongs to the great mosque at Ardebil, as well as several other neighbouring villages. We remained here the whole of Sunday, and great part of the next night. Soon, however, as the moon rose we continued our march, and finished the four remaining leagues which parted us from the city of Ardebil; as, however, the house assigned us by the mehimandar, who arrived before us, was not yet thoroughly in order, we pitched our tents in the fields at some distance from the city, and entered our dwelling the succeeding day.

The house appointed for us was very handsome and spacious, situated in the middle of a large garden, watered by a considerable stream running through the midst much larger and deeper than the Marano at Rome. This house belongs to a female relative of the King and the Corchi Bashi, called Becsi Kanum; but from her husband having fled the kingdom on account of having incurred the displeasure of His Majesty, although the house be not utterly confiscated, the proprietors are no longer allowed to dwell in it, it being appropriated to the reception of the King's guests who arrive at Ardebil. As such it was allotted to us, as it had previously been some time before to the Tatars of the country of Lefghi and Nocai, two hundred in number, accompanied as far as this place by the mehimandar on their way home.

The people left in care of the house, and who serve as domestics to those who inhabit it, related strange things of its former tenants, and their brutal and gross manner of living. Among other things, they informed us, that they ate their meat almost raw, without bread; used no napkins, and every where left heaps of filth, which was never swept away. The Persians who had been witnesses to their filthiness, and who are themselves a very delicate people, when they saw the cleanliness in use with us, and the nice manner of our eating with forks and spoons, could but make remarks highly favourable to our customs.

On the same day the mehimandar paid us a visit, which we returned on the succeeding day. We learned from him, that the news we had before heard of the devastations committed by the Tatars in the open towns and villages of Armenia, into which they had made an irruption, was true; and that the Serdar of the Turks had apologized for it to Carchica Bey, disowning any knowledge of these disorders; and intreating that it might not be the cause of more continued war, as he wished to come to an accommodation, and was sedulously employed on planning terms for a substantial peace.

All this, however, observed the mehimandar, is farcical and deceptive ; but the King is not to be so easily duped : he has had certain intelligence of the Serdar being ordered to proceed directly to Ardebil, to destroy the sepulchre of Shah Sofi in that place, (whom the Turks look upon as ■ schismatic,) as well as the city itself ; then, wintering in Georgia, where provisions abound, to make himself master of Teflis, reckoned easily practicable through the succour he is to receive from Teimuraz Khan ; and the following summer to follow up his success into the heart of Persia, and strive to rid the Turks of so vexatious ■ competitor as the Shah.

This news, which was published in Ardebil, had greatly intimidated the inhabitants. The King himself gave credit to it, and in consequence had proceeded hither with part of the army, in order to protect the country, while the main body was stationed to defend the road leading from Tebriz to Calvin, and thence to the center of Persia. As, however, Ardebil is not a fortified city of any strength, the King did not mean to stand a siege, nor hazard in this quarter any decisive battle against forces much superior to his own ; but rather to remove the bones of his ancestors to a more distant and secure asylum, in case of extremity. The King, however, sent hence ■ quantity of silk and other valuables which belonged to him towards Calvin ; of which the inhabitants being apprized, themselves began to remove their various effects to places of greater safety. The men and women of Ardebil, accompanied by the most powerful satraps of their sect, also retired from the city, on the 13th of August by day-break, to a place at ■ distance from the city, where on the day on which the less Beiram is kept they are wont to sacrifice the camel ; a ceremony of which I before have given you a description in ■ letter from Hispahan. You will here please to remark, that every city has a place appointed for this ceremony, called in Arabic, *Mussal*, which signifies a place of prayer. Hither it was that the whole of the city repaired to pray for the King, and on account of the war. I likewise went to the place after dinner, and as I rode along had an opportunity of seeing the whole of the city ; of which, previous to any thing else, I shall render you an account.

The country in which Ardebil is situated being in the north of Persia, and, moreover, like the whole of Media full of mountains, the cold here is intense. The city is in a large plain, surrounded by mountains. That most immediately contiguous to it is extremely lofty, and one of the most remarkable in Media. It is said to be extremely fertile, and well peopled, and is called Lepalan, or Sepalan, oftentimes pronounced Sevalan ; the Persians frequently confounding not only the *B* with the *V*, after the manner of the Spaniards, but the *P* also. Hence, when they write correctly Calvin, it is founded Casbin ; and the same Tebriz or Tabriz, we pronounce Tavis ; and Ardebil by many geographers is given Ardébil.

This mountain presumptively is the Zagro mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny, or rather a branch of it laying north-east of the city. In the month of August even it was covered with snow.

Ardebil is a city of middling size, not being either so large or so small as many in Persia. Its streets are irregular, of no length in general ; crooked, dirty, and uneven. Its buildings indifferent. ■ is, however, well peopled, and abounds in merchandize of every description ; its trade being very considerable on account of its favourable situation on the frontiers, and its contiguity to Armenia, Curdistan, Georgia, Albania, and Ghilan, and its vicinity to a river which falls into the Caspian Sea, by which great quantities of goods are transported to various countries.

No wine is made in the territory dependant on Ardebil, as well from the coldness of the climate being unfavourable to the vine, as the unwillingness of the descendants



of the Sheich, to whom it belongs, to commit so great a sin as to encourage the growth of it on such sacred ground. On this account, wine is so scarce in the city, none being drunk but by a few in secret, that we were many days without tasting a single drop.

A number of rivulets, proceeding from a small river which falls from the mountains, flow through almost all the streets of Ardebil; and in this particular the city much resembles Venice. These rivulets abound in fish, much superior in quality to any I ever tasted in Persia, or even since I left Egypt. Their trout in particular are excellent.

In summer time these rivulets are easily forded, but on account of their being much swollen in winter, a number of brick bridges are built in different parts of the city; and on the margin of these streams on each side rows of trees are planted, which half cover the streets with their verdure and shade.

The grand square, as they are generally formed, is longer than it is broad; the buildings which inclose it are very paltry. Ardebil was formerly the residence of a Khan, and the capital of the province. Since the Shah, however, put Zulfcâr Khan to death, the last of the Schichabend who governed there, he has not suffered any one vested with so high a dignity to make it his residence; it is, therefore, governed at present by officers of inferior rank, more immediately dependant on the King. The house formerly inhabited by Zulfcâr Khan is now the Royal Palace, and the most extensive dwelling in the place. Compared with the other buildings of the city it may pass for handsome, as well as the square in front of it, its public gardens, those retired, and its other appendages.

Except this palace, there is nothing remarkable in Ardebil but the mosque of Shah Sofi, in which he is interred, as well as the successive Kings of his race, and their near relations, the ancestors of the reigning Prince. The first and chief portal of this mosque is situated in a very narrow street, unwatered by either of the rivulets described, at some distance from the great square. A number of iron chains from right to left, and from these reaching to the ground, cross this gate and inclose a certain space. Any criminal who flies hither and keeps within these chains, or even touches them, is free from pursuit of the law or even the King's ordonnance; whence this sanctuary is resorted to by numbers, who live here in perfect security.

Within this first gate is a large court, round which is an infinity of shops full of all kinds of wares and edibles, and as there are a number of refugees who dare not go out of the mosque, and as this place is resorted to by a number of pilgrims from all parts of Persia, the shop-keepers have plenty of custom. After traversing this large court, you advance to a second portal, crossed with chains in like manner as the former, over which several apartments and balconies are built, part of which are destined for the refugees, and others for officers belonging to the mosque. Within the second gate is another court longer than wide, of no very pleasing form, and which when I noticed it was being paved by order of the King. On the side of this court a canal is constructing for bathing in and other purposes.

At the end of this second court, on the left towards another small gate, is a place opposite to the kitchen, where provisions are daily distributed in charity to the poor. The food thus given is pilão, very nicely cooked; and the number of poor who partake of it, and others who receive it out of motives of religion, is so numerous as to keep thirty-five large boilers continually employed. At first, it was customary to make these distributions only in the morning, but Shah Abbas founded a fund for giving the same in the evening as well. This institution will of itself be sufficient to immortalize the name of the King; for, as ever will be the case where there are similar foundations, a number of worthless people (among the Sofi and others) resort hither, choosing rather to sub-

sist in laziness, and begging for means to clothe them, than support themselves by labour; and these, occasionally dispersed over the whole kingdom, will not fail to extol the benefactor who enables them to live the best part of the year in a state of ease and idleness.

Beyond this place where the pilão is distributed there is at first a small corridor with two gates, one at the beginning, the other at the end. They are not very large, it is true, but entirely covered in a coarse manner with plates of silver. Between these two gates of the corridor is the mosque, in which prayers are said, and into which you enter by one of the sides of its length. This mosque is of a reasonably large size, entirely open at the top, except at the two extremities, that is to say, the entrance and its opposite side, at which are two tribunes with vaulted roofs. This manner of building mosques is in Persia very common. Thucydides relates, that even among the Greeks it was usual to construct temples without roofs.

After crossing this open mosque, you proceed direct to the gate of another, which is small and roofed, under the dome of which, covered without with varnished tiles, and sheeted, as reported by those who have seen it, within with silver, Shah Sofi is interred in a large raised tomb, covered with rich silk, in a place railed in by itself; and a little beyond are buried the remainder of the predecessors and relatives of Shah Abbas, the descendants of Sofi. The tombs of these are made in the shape of large coffins, and are covered with silk and gold.

I was unwilling to enter this mosque on account of certain adorations and genuflections requisite, which I deemed improper for a Christian; Madame Maani, however, entered it one day with her veil down as customary. She informed me, that the covered mosque is divided into three cells one beyond the other; the two first contain nothing but a vast number of silver lamps suspended, with a number of ostrich eggs, according to the custom of the Mahometans; handsome carpets on the floors, on which were large chandeliers with wax candles of an extraordinary length, which, however, are never lighted, but are only for shew; and in these cells, the doors of which are covered with plates of silver, several mullahs are constantly praying, relieved occasionally by others, from a sort of pulpit.

After passing through these two cells you enter the third, which is the place of sepulchre, beneath the dome. This likewise is full of lamps; moreover, suspended above the tomb of Shah Sofi, hang eight large silver pomegranates as ornaments, and in front of the inclosure of the tomb is a small window through which a man cannot enter without stooping. Through this window none passes but the King when he goes to say his prayers and meditate on his past life. The small windows, which are the most valuable part of the mosque, are in frames of solid gold enriched with precious stones.

Beyond this I saw nothing remarkable in Ardebil, except that the peasants of this part make use of neither horses nor mules for carrying, but only bulls and cows, most of which are black with spots of various colours, and the breed smaller than ours; what is singular, they have no pack-saddles, but instead pads of coarse sackcloth quilted with cotton, which cover almost the whole of their body. This kind of housing is very convenient, so much so, that it is frequently used by them when they ride, especially when they have long journeys to make.

The King, desirous of waiting till winter when the Turks would have consumed their provisions, enjoined Carchica Bey, the lieutenant-general who had sent to entreat him, from his position beyond Taurus, to be allowed to fall upon the Turks assembled at three days' journey distant from his army, by no means to fight them; adding, that

if



if he did he should consider him as his enemy, and with the bread and salt he ate might be poison to him.

In view of inconveniencing the army of the Turks, therefore, he ordered the people in its neighbourhood to quit their homes, and carry off all their effects, not leaving behind them any provisions whatsoever. By similar measures he was successful in the famous victory he obtained some years before over Bakia Chicalla, and rendered abortive at various periods the grand projects of his enemies; copying the plans of the ancient Medes, the Persians and Parthians, in their various wars with the Western nations. Thus we may say, that names and seasons change, but customs remain the same.

The elevation of Mustafa to empire, to the prejudice of the children of Ahmed, which might occasion disturbances in Turkey, as well as the apprehension of a war between the Porte and the Christians, induced Sultan Mustafa to wish for peace with Persia; he, therefore, after loading with kindness Casum Bey, surnamed Bouroun Casum,<sup>1</sup> or Casum with a nose, sent him to the Serdar Halil Bacha, generalissimo of the Turks, then in Asia, to treat of peace; who, in consequence dispatched him for the purpose to Ardebil, with an ambassador of greater rank than that which had been before at Casvin, who arrived in that city on the 30th of August; Bouroun Casum reaching it on the 22d.

On the 25th, however, the King, learning that the Turkish army, reputedly three hundred thousand strong, was but four short days' journies from Tebriz, on its way to Ardebil, repaired to the mosque of Shah Sofi, where, bathed in tears, he remained a long time melancholy and in earnest prayer.

On the 28th he received intelligence from Carchica Bey, that he had completely inundated the territory of Tebriz by emptying the bed of a river, so that cavalry could not advance; and that the Turkish army was hemmed in in such manner that not a man could return to inform his countrymen of their fate. He informed him, likewise, that a dysentery prevailed among them, and that they were in the utmost distress for provisions.

The King ordered Carchica Bey to suffer the Turks to advance into the country, and for that purpose to draw off part of his army, so as that he might keep with the one where he was, and allow the other to fly before the enemy, in order by a circuitous route to get in their rear; the latter being placed under the command of an excellent general called Imir Gunch, Khan of Erouan, who, after leaving in his capital a strong garrison, had joined Carchica Bey with the residue of his forces. By this means he proposed, when the Turks should be reduced to extremities by famine and the cold of winter, to attack their army in three directions at once, with the bodies under command of the King, Carchica, and Imir Gunch.

On the 30th of August I repaired as usual to the palace, when I learnt from the mehimandar, that the King had ordered the evacuation of Tebriz, and that the people should repair with their property to places of safety.

On the 31st the King gave audience to the Turkish ambassador. He was received without any ceremony, or entertainment, as is usual on such occasions, conferring with him in secret, and not even desiring him to be seated. All that was overheard at the conference was, the King informing the Turk, that he would grant peace to his master when he should have taken Bagdad and Aleppo; a rhodomontade after the French style.

The conduct of the King towards the ambassador was a retaliation for the outrage committed by Ahmed on the person of his representative Bouroun Casum. The conditions of peace proposed by the Turk, as such matters immediately transpire at the

court of Persia, were that the tribute of silk should be sent which was wont ; or, in lieu of the three hundred camel loads of that article, certain scarlet cloth for trappings for cavalry of inferior value. That the Shah should surrender the conquests he had made ; that is to say, Tebriz and its territory ; Shiumaki, with all Shirwan ; certain places in Media ; Demir Capi, and Nakivan, with all the towns in Armenia. That he moreover should restitute the whole of the country taken from the Georgians, and send one of his children as a hostage to the Turks.

This was the substance of what the Serdar required on account of the Sultan ; for himself, as a condition for withdrawing his troops, he demanded a present of value sufficient to indemnify him for the trouble the war had occasioned him.

The King on this occasion had much need of nice management, notwithstanding the extravagant pretensions of the Serdar ; the people, who languished for peace, were aware, that if his cupidity were satisfied, much more favourable conditions would be accepted ; the satraps, in particular, taxed the Shah with injustice and impiety towards God, in warring with Mahometans. Sarù Kogia, one of the most powerful Viziers, likewise, and the Corchi Basha, the King's son-in-law, prest the King so much to listen at least in part to the proposals, that he felt it prudent to temporize.

As to the silk, he stated he would willingly send the customary present, and engage to continue the same (the Persians, I understand, are heedless of promises, which they break as convenience suits). As for restitution of conquered provinces, it could not be admitted. His own son he would not send, but in lieu he had no objection to substitute as his own son that of Zulscar Khan, a person I before have mentioned, who had been murdered by Carchica Bey, and whose brother, at the solicitation of Kogia Khan, had been put to death by the Shah. This young Prince was a near relation of the King, and by proposing sending him as a hostage, while he should gratify the malice of these two eminent persons, he would get rid of one whom he had reason to suspect might be inimical to him. And, lastly, as to the present ; in order to silence the Corchi Bey and Kogia Khan, whose importunities were the strongest, under pretence that he had no money to satisfy the Serdar, he commanded them to provide him with a present, and that of some hundred thousand crowns ; that, as they were desirous of peace, they might furnish the enemy with a golden bridge to retire over.

This proposal was a thunder-clap for these two advocates of peace ; it was in vain for the wife of the Corchi Basha, who was the King's daughter, to tender certain silk cloths and rich brocades as a present to the Serdar, her father assured her he was entirely mercenary and wanted money, and her husband or his partner being unable as well as unwilling to raise the sum required in the space of time allowed, their opposition in consequence entirely ceased. Having, therefore, surmounted all obstacles in his council, he was left at liberty to follow his own inclinations, secure of the sedulous co-operation of the Corchi Basha, who had the chief of his possessions to protect about Ardebil. To sooth the ambassador, however, and make amends for his first neglect, he gave him a royal feast, and presented him with a number of horses, and a purse of a hundred tomans, about 500*l.* sterling.

On the 3d of September, he granted him a private audience anew. In this the ambassador dropped from his first claims, requiring simply the silk, and his son as hostage ; or, if His Majesty should be unwilling to yield his son, any other person of condition who might pass for such. The King immediately conceiving the use they might make of such an instrument of insurrection, played off one of his usual manœuvres, and drawing his sword : " This is my son," said he, " if you can, wrest him from me." The ambassador observing that many poor wretches must perish in the war :



and that it was lamentable that so much blood of Mussulmen should be spilt. "For that," replied the King, "it is you must be responsible to God, who attack me while in quiet and offending no one; nay, it has been your annual practice thus to come and insult me, even in my very palace, and that without the slightest provocation. You may advance," continued he; "the mosque of Shah Sofi is indeed the tomb of my ancestors, but their remains have been removed, which you will not have the pleasure of insulting; you may advance, but think not I will face you now. I shall not hesitate a moment to fire every quarter of this city. You shall find no where any thing but a wasted country; and when you have entangled yourself sufficiently, when I shall see the opportunity, I shall make you feel the weight of my scymitar, and utterly exterminate the invaders." Hereupon, pretending to be in a rage, he called for the calanter of the city, and expressly enjoined him, in presence of the ambassador, to cause the town to be immediately evacuated by the inhabitants, who with their effects should be directed to withdraw to a place of safety; and that if any were refractory to his orders, they should be cut in pieces. The calanter immediately issued his orders; the King, however, secretly directed that they were to have effect only in the neighbourhood of the ambassador's house, before which they should file so as to be seen by him, making a circuit of a league, and returning in parties secretly by another gate. This was, however, but a frivolous artifice, which, no doubt, would be seen into by the ambassador.

On the 30th, he again gave him a royal entertainment previous to his departure, which took place either on that or the succeeding day. And on the 3d September, by couriers from Carchica Bey, the King learnt that, the Turks having advanced, he had demolished and quitted the fortress of Tebriz, of which they had taken possession, after its having been abandoned by its inhabitants, who had carried off every thing, and that all the neighbouring country had been previously desolated.

The King, upon this intelligence, ordered Ardebil to be evacuated in effect; which took place, and was a most afflicting scene.

On the next morning, Bahadu Khan appeared at court; his government lays between Ardebil and the Caspian Sea. He came before the King in the same condition in which he arrived, booted, his bow in his hand and quiver at his waist. To this person, a descendant from the Pagan Kings of Persia of the dynasty of Cosrhoë, and governor of various fortresses and ports on the Caspian Sea, but of no cities, the care of protecting the emigrants was delegated by the Shah; recommending to him to see that they met with succour and friendly reception on their way. At the same time he issued orders that such of the inhabitants as could bear arms should remain; and that the various banditti on the frontiers, the commanders of whom are known to the King, under promise of pardon, should hover on the flanks of the Turkish army, which is never entrenched, and serve as light troops to cut off their supplies, and pillage their camp in the night.

On the 10th of September a Tatar spy arrived, bringing intelligence, that a division of the Turkish army, consisting it was said of forty thousand, with six days provisions, had been detached from Tebriz, under command of the Georgian Prince Teimuraz, expectedly to fall on a sudden on Ardebil. The King immediately gave directions, that such inhabitants in the city and neighbouring villages as had not yet left should quit them, and take the road to Mazanderan, or some more distant part of Media or Irak: that every thing at Calvin should be in readiness for the inhabitants quitting that place, if it should appear requisite, and in the mean time, that all the merchandize and property there belonging to His Majesty should be transported thence, as safely as possible to Ferhabad and Hispahan: that every one in Ardebil should hold himself in readiness to leave

leave the city on the following day for the strong fort where the King had placed his baggage to wait for the enemy ; and that preparation should be made for setting fire to every part of the city upon our evacuation, as well as the various towns and villages in its neighbourhood.

On the 11th September, just as we were about to mount our horses, and fire the city, intelligence of the most grateful description was received from Carchica Bey, giving account of a victory most unexpectedly obtained over the Turks. This Corchi Basha, on the Turks entering Tebriz, had withdrawn to Ugiun, one day's journey from that city, on the direct road to Calvin, leaving the way open as preconcerted to Ardebil, under expectation that they would in course direct their march thither. The Turks, however, conceiving that this step was a mark of weakness ; and understanding from the ambassador who had been at Ardebil that no pillage would be obtained there ; and that the King himself, with the small army he had with him, was in the greatest consternation, and had resolved on flying before them, determined on attacking Carchica Bey ; after routing whom, they might easily pursue their plan of ruining Ardebil, without having any apprehension from him in their rear. As, however, they knew from the orders he had received, it would be difficult to induce the Corchi Basha to hazard a pitched battle, they attempted to take him by surprise. With this intent, they selected their best troops, as well Turks as Tatars, to the amount of from forty to fifty thousand, as we had before heard, which were detached lightly equipped, and calculated for dispatch, to fall upon Carchica Bey in the night-time or by dawn of day. In stating Ardebil as their destination, the spy was deceived, as well as in their being commanded by Teimuraz Khan, who at that time was indisposed and not with the army. Unfortunately for the Turks, while on their march, a Persian in their army of the name of Ali Bey, influenced by that *amor patriæ* so natural to man, when mounted with the rest, clapped spurs to his horse, and favoured by darkness and the speed of his animal, quickly reached the camp of Carchica Bey.

This nobleman found the army completely off its guard, and, passing the drowsy centinels, reached the very tent of Carchica Bey entirely unperceived. Here, after making a great noise, he succeeded in gaining admittance to the general, to whom he succinctly related his danger. The general immediately issued orders for the troops to saddle their horses, and load the baggage waggons, not to create disorder or a panic amid the soldiers ; so that before day-break, this prodigious body of cavalry was in readiness to march in military array, and divided in four immense squadrons at some distance from the baggage, and a row of tents which formed the market or bazar ; leaving from a thousand to fifteen hundred horse, who were directed, in case of the enemy appearing, to engage their van, and draw them, as they retreated, among the baggage and the tents, which were left standing.

So orderly was every thing managed, that none of the soldiers had any idea of their having to engage, but merely imagined that they were about to decamp for some other spot, as was frequent with them. But Carchica Bey seeing a favourable opportunity had so contrived, that he was apparently reduced either to comply with the King's injunctions and abandon in disgrace his camp and baggage, or attempt to deliver them from the enemy by an engagement.

The enemy came up shortly after day break, and the Tatars made a furious charge on the troops of Shiraz Imaunculi Khan, by whom they were valiantly received, and a desperate conflict ensued. Carchica Bey, who was in the rear, upon this stated, that he could not in conformity to the King's orders hazard an engagement, but should entrench himself. Upon this Imaunculi Khan sent word that he was unavoidably drawn



into battle, and that the Corchi Basha must think seriously of fighting and immediately join him, as notwithstanding the bravery of his troops they must otherwise be overpowered, enjoining him if he would not fight to draw up his forces, as their appearance might intimidate the enemy and encourage his men. In the mean time the fifteen hundred men of the van who had done their duty, agreeable to the orders received, pretended to fly, and drew the enemy among the tents, where they immediately began pillaging and massacring such as they found in the bazar, giving over the pursuit. At this instant, Carchica Bey seeing things in the state he wished them, and holding himself justified with respect to his orders in the opinion as well of Imaunculi Khan as the rest of the nobles in the army who blamed him for his inertness, joined his forces to those of the Khan of Shiraz, and fell with the utmost fury on the Tatars with his four squadrons. The Tatars bravely sustained the shock, but finding themselves at length overpowered by the Persians and not supported by the Turks, who came up but slowly, owing to some impediment on the road, or their cowardice, which induced them rather to be spectators of the battle than actors in the field, were at length obliged to give way in disorder; the Khan of Cassa, who had behaved himself bravely, and was wounded in several places, retiring at the entreaty of his people.

The Persians, upon the Tatars being put to the rout, followed up their advantage closely for several miles, driving before them not only the Tatars but also the dilatory Turks whom they met on the road, putting to the sword most of those whom the want of fleetness of their horses put within their reach, and making very few prisoners. Of these, the only ones of condition were the Basha of Van, a grey-haired old man, a Captain of Tatars, and a Georgian of note in his own country, a Captain of Janissaries\*. Among the dead, the number of which is uncertain, were seven or eight Bashes, whose names are mentioned. On the side of the Persians, no one is spoken of as killed of any consequence; such a victory, however, cannot have been purchased without great loss. In his account of the battle Carchica Bey excused himself for his disobedience of His Majesty's orders by the singularity and urgency of the case, and stated, that if His Majesty disapproved of his conduct, he was ready to lay his head at his feet. The Shah expressed himself satisfied with what he had done, and commended him for his skill.

This intelligence occasioned the revocation of the former orders. The whole day long nothing was heard but music and rejoicing, and an infinite number of people repaired to the mosque in order to return thanks for the victory. Ali Bey, who was nobly rewarded by the Corchi Basha and his officers, had apartments assigned him in the house of Bahadur Khan.

His Majesty pardoned the Tatars and his chief prisoners, but ordered all the Turks to be put to death, as well as some of their spies who were taken; their execution was barbarous, it consisted in cutting off their feet or legs, and leaving them in the different streets to bleed to death and be trampled on by passengers.

On the 16th September, Emir Gunch Erouan Khan came to confer with the Shah, and after a promise from the King that he would not conclude peace without hearing more from the army, he returned to join the Corchi Basha.

The Turkish ambassador appeared again at court with new proposals. These went, that the Turks were willing to make peace without restitution of any conquests, upon

\* This word is constantly written thus; it should be *Yeni cheri*, as pronounced in Turkey, the meaning a new soldier. The Germans not having in their language the sound of *eh*, substitute an *s*, and pronounce it *Yeniferi* or *fari*, spelling it with a *J*, founded by them as *Y* with us. Retaining the German spelling, the word is consequently but improperly pronounced by us *Janissary*.

condition only of the annual present being sent, or in lieu of it a certain quantity of scarlet cloth, some horse trappings and other trifles, provided the army were allowed to return by the road of Maraga and Curdistan, the country through which they came being exhausted, and that the King would furnish them with a quantity of corn, straw, and shoes for their horses, with other articles of which they stood in need.

The wary King, while he consented to the tribute, refused to allow them a passage through Curdistan, and insisted on their return by the same way they came; upon their agreeing to which he would furnish them with the requisite provisions. With this answer the ambassador returned, accompanied by Bouroun Casum Bey for the conclusion of peace on these terms on the part of the Serdar.

On the 20th September, the King being in better humour than on the preceding days, went without the city to divert himself with falcons and other birds, and on this occasion, fantastic as he was, he remained seated on the bare ground in the midst of the fields exposed to the rays of the sun without any covering above his head, but not forgetting the bottle, and in this posture made his meal, without any cloth, of a roast fowl which was brought to him, the court seated around him. In the afternoon, we were informed by the mehimandar that the Turks were advanced on the road from Tebriz as far as a large town of the name of Scrah, on the road to Ardebil, whither he appeared to advance, while Carchica Bey in pursuance of the Royal orders retired before them. We were in consequence, to provide against any treachery, directed to send off our heavy baggage to the King's camp, reserving only a laden horse called a *seiz kanè*, that we might be ready to accompany the King at notice with greater dispatch.

On Saturday 22d of September, the first day of Bairam, or the greater Easter festival of the Mahometans, the King repaired to the mosque, whither the ornaments of greatest value which had been removed had already been brought back, and where after prayers the King himself served out the *pilão* to the poor.

On Sunday some Armenian Christians, coming from Turkey, who had passed through the Turkish army, brought account that the Serdar had received new orders from court, by which he was commanded to repair immediately to the assistance of the Porte, about to be attacked in different quarters by the Christians; and that Erzerum, through which they had passed, was thronged by emigrants flying from Trebisond in consequence of the ravages committed by the Cossacks on the shores of the Black Sea.

This news was verified on the return of Casum Bey with the treaty of peace signed by the Serdar, who had sent with him not only the same ambassador who had been twice before with the King, but also Gebegi Basha, a person of great authority, colonel general of the gens d'armes and artillery, who, with another of no less respectability among the Turks, was deputed to ratify the treaty.

Upon the retreat of the Turks, which took place immediately, the King disbanded those of his troops which came from Mazanderan and the Turkmans, and on arrival of the last ambassador published his intention of leaving Ardebil for Cazvin; so that many among us, and I of the number, set forward on the road, not being disposed to subject myself to the inconvenience naturally attendant on the march of the ordu or King's camp. On the 22d October, therefore, I left Ardebil in the evening, merely to begin the journey, and after travelling half a league halted at a village called Task Kiesen, from the number of stone-cutters by which it is inhabited.

On the next day, after marching three leagues and a half, I stopped at Tagi buyuc, a village at which I had rested on coming. Tuesday I travelled five leagues, lodging in the village of Ghivi, at the house of a very obliging and extremely agreeable lady.



Beyond Ghivi the road to Casvin divides, I took therefore a different one to which I came, and after three leagues on Wednesday passed the night in a town called Hoin. Thursday we journeyed through a valley extremely well peopled throughout its whole extent, and arrived by night at a small city called Shial, five leagues from Hoin. Shial is built on the slope of a mountain, in the narrowest part of the valley, above a small river which runs through it; it is, however, so inconsiderable a place as hardly to deserve the title of a city.

We advanced but three leagues in this valley on Friday, owing to our litter being overturned; fortunately, however, without any injury either to Madame Maani or the camel which bore it; taking up our abode at a caravanserai. On Saturday we continued our course over a disagreeable road, no longer full of mud as that of the preceding day, but abounding in acclivities, and after journeying almost three leagues came to a village beyond the mountains, near which, owing to our camels being extremely jaded, we rested for the night by the side of a running stream, where we saw a number of pastoral Turkmans with their flocks, frightened hither by the din of war from their province of Ghilan.

On Sunday we merely completed the remainder of the three leagues of the previous day, stopping at the first village we came to, in the territory of Taron, called Derram. The succeeding day, while yet here, the King with the whole of the ordu passed us, the greater part of the army continuing its route, but his Majesty remaining below the village under tents. On Tuesday the royal household set off rather late, we following it at a distance, travelling for three leagues through a country abounding with cotton; from Derram to Casvin the fields being covered with scarcely any thing else. In the evening we pitched our tents on the margin of a small river, whose course we had followed, keeping on its left side the whole of this and part of the preceding day. We reached a village called Ibrahim Oba, or Abraham's hut, on Wednesday 31st of October, after having journeyed five leagues.

As travelling along, accompanied by Tochta Bey, Imamculi Mirza, the King's youngest son, who was greatly attached to me, inquired of my people with the baggage to whom the litter belonged, and learning it was mine, conversed for some time with them seated on the ground, his led horse with his Seizchanè having fallen ill. While thus discoursing with two of my men who stopped to answer his questions, he saw a little bitch pass by on one of our camels, which, however despicable it would have been with us, in Persia served as a pet, and admired the animal extremely; finding, however, that his praising her would not induce the servants to have the civility of offering it, he even begged her of them; and on her being presented, not knowing how otherwise to secure it till he should overtake his baggage, upon his led horse coming up he unfastened his garters, and joining them together he tied one extremity round the neck of the bitch, and holding the other in his hand, led her along.

On Thursday, the first of November, we arrived at a spot where the bridge which formerly crossed the river being in ruins, we were obliged to ford it. It is the same we passed in going to Ardebil, in the valley of Perdelife, and is called Kizil Uzen, or red colour, from its flowing over red sand which communicates its colour sometimes to the water. This river, to which several small streams are tributary, much increased in volume, empties itself into the Caspian Sea.

In the evening, on account of my not being disposed myself to ford this river with my baggage horses, and making a long tour to pass it over a bridge, it was late before I reached my people at a village called Kielle, or head, about half a league beyond the river, and four good leagues from our last place of resting.

Friday, the 2d of November, after four leagues of road, we arrived at a small village of only four or five houses, called Kara Tikian Corchi Basfa, or the black thorn of the Basfa of the Corchi, leaving before we came to it the river Shiahруд, which falls a little lower down into the Kizil Uzen, on the left; having all the while close on our right the mountains of Ghilan, which branch from Mount Taurus.

On Saturday we travelled six leagues through an extreme narrow valley very unpleasantly, on account of the numerous and crooked defiles we had to pass, and our being frequently obliged to ford a small stream which winds on a bed of rock and stones. Late at night we pitched our tents in the neighbourhood of some peasants' huts, where we procured provisions and forage for our horses.

On Sunday, having cleared the defiles of the valley, we entered on a high and level country, and encamped below a village called Ramushan, only three short leagues from Casvin, where on Monday we arrived, but found the streets so filthy in consequence of the heavy rains of the preceding night, that our horses were up to their girths in mud. Notwithstanding the consequent condition of the country, the King, unwilling to turn the inhabitants out of their houses, encamped his army on the wet ground.

On Saturday, the 17th of November, the King, after having previously given audience to the various ambassadors from Spain, Mogholistan, and Muscovy, received their presents and given them grand entertainments in the Meidan or square at Casvin, on which occasion, it being by night, the square was illuminated with such a profusion of light as to make the night vie in splendour with the day, he left Casvin to pass the winter in Ferhabad, as is usual with him. The nobles at court hereupon dispersed each his way, excepting a few expressly appointed by the King to attend him. For my part, having caught a cold which brought on a lingering fever, not feeling any disposition to revisit Ferhabad, and requiring the comforts of Hispahan, I took leave of His Majesty to winter in the capital.

Before his departure, however, the King taking umbrage at the Muscovite present, which among other things comprised a large number of casks of brandy, imagining that they tacitly thereby accused him of drunkenness, sent back the chief to the ambassadors, telling them at the same time that for his part he had not occasion for so much, and that as he knew they were used to drink deep he was unwilling to deprive them of what he was aware was so gratifying to themselves.

On Tuesday, the 20th of November, I departed from Casvin for Hispahan by the direct road, which was different to that by which I travelled to Ferhabad, and as I was too weak to undertake the journey on horseback, I went in the litter.

We pitched our tents the first night about three leagues and a half from Casvin, near a village in ruins on the road. Wednesday, a little before dawn in the morning, as we were loading our horses, I saw for the first time a comet, the largest of the two which have been visible for two months back. Its form was that of a scymitar.

This day we travelled seven leagues, and arrived early in the evening at a village called Ara Sengh, where we passed the night, and were joined by Father Melchior des Anges, prior of the Augustin convent, who had passed us in the morning on his way to Ferhabad, on business with the King respecting encroachments on the part of the governors of the provinces bordering on Ormus, and who receiving a courier shortly after he passed us, by which the King had sent orders to these governors to desist, and intimated his intention of examining the affair himself on his return to Hispahan, which would shortly take place; the good Father trod back his steps. His company and that of his companions so much raised my spirits, and I found myself so much better, that I began to mount my horse again.



On Thursday we rode six leagues, and rested at night at a caravanferai in midst of a wild uninhabited country.

We travelled eight leagues on Friday, and arrived at night at a small city called Sava. On Saturday, after fording the river called by the name of the city, we lodged at a caravanferai in a desert country called Geuher-abad, five leagues from the place at which we last rested.

On Sunday night, five leagues beyond, we halted at a caravanferai in the city of Com, which the author of the Geographical Epitome (Ferrari) maintains was anciently called Choana, and is a city of Media. I am also of his opinion, and believe Media to extend farther, and even to comprise Cashan, more towards the south, and extend to certain mountains which apparently are its boundaries, although the inhabitants of the country place them in Irak.

Com is a city of middling size, inferior in population and the number of its houses to Cashan, but much superior in point of elegance and situation. We entered the city by a handsome stone bridge, which generally is small, but very wide when swollen by the rains descending from the mountain. Near the bridge is a handsome mo'que; its streets and bazars are good; its square large and very spacious, although not of a regular or proportionate figure; in short, the whole city appeared to me commodious and handsome.

We remained in this city the whole of Monday to rest our beasts, and finding myself much better I indulged myself with melons and cucumbers, which here are excellent. On Tuesday we travelled four leagues only, and passed the night at a wretched caravanferai, dependant on a village called Sifin. On Wednesday night we reached Cashan, seven leagues from Sifin. On the road I was much inconvenienced by the cold and violence of the wind, notwithstanding the fur dresses I wore. Here we took up our abode at the King's caravanferai, situated in the suburbs of the city.

Sunday, Father Melchior being summoned to Ferhabad by the ambassador, we parted, he towards that place and I for Hispahan, travelling by night six leagues, and stopping two hours before dawn at a caravanferai called Kogia Casum Natanzi.

Monday night we journeyed eight leagues; resting in the morning at a caravanferai in the neighbourhood of the royal garden called Tegiabad. Thence, the next night, to the caravanferai Lala Bey, eight leagues; and on Wednesday night, after the like distance, came to a town called Berian, only one league from Hispahan. Here I took repose for a while, sending forward to advise of my arrival, that the King's officers might appoint me a residence, that which I before had being occupied by the Spanish ambassador.

The house we were to dwell in being ready, I repaired to it on Saturday the 8th of December, when, taking to my bed, I was confined to the 16th, recovering my strength afterwards by degrees, so that with the new year of 1619 I found myself in good spirits and health.

In this interval the Armenian Christians of Chiolfā repaired to Ferhabad to make certain presents to the King; he, as they had been given to understand, being displeased at the length of time since they had made their last. One of these, on his return on the 13th of February, informed me that at present Ferhabad contains 40,000 houses belonging to Armenians, 12,000 to Georgians, 7,000 to Jews and to Mahometans from the provinces of Shirwan, Ghilan and other countries, 15,000, and these exclusive of those inhabited by the attendants of His Majesty and persons belonging to the court. I mention this that you may form an idea of the brilliant beginning of this city, founded  
by

by force, and some computation of its probable extent should it flourish, which is problematic after the death of Shah Abbas.

With the relation of two curious matters I shall conclude my long letter. The one, that although I have but seven women servants and some few men, we speak with correctness in our house ten different languages. I say so many are spoken perfectly separate from several others with which we are partially acquainted. The languages spoken are the Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, modern Greek, the Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Georgian, and Armenian. I confess, however, that I alone am master of the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish; but several speak the six others, and not one of my people is there but understands at least three or four. I myself comprehend, in measure, the whole, except the Georgian and Armenian, of either of which I have little knowledge. The other curious matter, which relates to surgery or natural history, and what I certainly ought not to omit mentioning, is the punishment inflicted on such as commit rapes or sodomy, which is similar to that used in ancient times in Egypt, according to Diodorus Siculus, and consists in the amputation of the offending parts. Strange as this operation, the culprit never dies in consequence, but is cured speedily by the application of ashes alone.

The Vizier of Mazanderan, who was my mehimandar at Ferhabad, underwent this chastisement most wrongfully, as he protested to me. The King being informed that he had carried off a young boy from a certain part of which he was governor, in order to set an example to his other ministers and governors, sentenced him to undergo the law, which took place and left him deprived of manhood. A young wife he had was so much chagrined on the occasion, that she left his haram in search of another more useful companion, but one of more mature years compensated for her loss by her unre-mitted fidelity and kindness to him.

Soon, however, as the knife had done its office, it was discovered that he had been falsely accused; in consequence of which the King was greatly hurt, and ordered the tenderest care to be had of him, that he should have ashes applied, and be kept in a dark apartment for several days. At length he recovered his strength, but not what he had lost. This same vizier, while I was at Escref, sentenced to a similar punishment a young man who was one of his domestics, and charged with having violated a single woman. What is remarkable, when this operation is effected on grown-up persons, it does not cause them to lose their beard.

*Hispahan, 22d April, 1619.*

ABOUT to close my letter, it has occurred to me that I ought to inform you of a matter I have omitted. The Persians observe no order in fighting; the different khans, sultans, or captains, appointed by the King or the generalissimo, mixing their fuzileers with their bowmen and such as fight with lances indiscriminately. And fairly may we say of the Persian archers, that they retreat rather than run away; for, similar to their ancestors, the Parthians, they turn their back to the enemy as they draw the bow to shoot with greater power, the fuzileers copying them, after having fired their piece.

In their march they keep no ranks, but each goes as he pleases, uniting in a body only when in suspected places, or in the neighbourhood of the enemy's army. The baggage and the women are placed in the rear when nigh the foe on advancing, and on retreat precede the army.

I have in my garden here among other articles some yellow jessamine, the leaves of which are larger and thicker than those of our common jessamine, in other respects the plant is the same. I am uncertain if this be or not a curious thing in Italy; if you should think



think it so, I will forward you some of the seed in a letter. Yellow roses are also frequent in all the gardens of Hispahan, similar in their leaves and shape of the flower to common roses, but differing in fragrance, the smell of them being far from pleasant.

### LETTER VI.

THIS letter being chiefly filled with a description of the triumphal entry of Shah Abbas the Great into Hispahan, of the splendid entertainments given by him to the various ambassadors at his court, and matters relating rather to history than an account of travels, is suppressed.

### LETTER VII.

IN this the author gives the proposals of Spain for a traffic in silk with Persia, and a portrait of Madame Maani, two matters which, as uninteresting to the reader, are passed over.

### LETTER VIII.

*Hispahan, 4th April, 1620.*

IN the middle of November last I changed my abode, a matter which is common with the King's guests, as suits their convenience or occurrences; the house in which I dwelt before not belonging to the King, but being rented by him, the owner wished to repossess it, and as two houses in the neighbourhood of where I formerly lived had been vacated by the Spanish ambassador, I agreed with the mehimandar to remove to one of them, in which I am now.

On the 21st of November I was witness to a circumstance here as extraordinary as it was inhuman. Certain differences arising among the Jews of Hispahan, they accused each other before the King. In particular, three Rabbins were falsely charged with being addicted to magic and other flagrant crimes, one of them being said to possess a letter which, on any one reading, either by virtue of poison or witchcraft, caused his death. Whether the inculpations were merited or not, judging by the event they should have had foundation, as the culprits were ordered for execution; the sentence of the King being, that they should be exposed to dogs, kept by him purposely for devouring criminals of this description and nation, held in contempt by the Mahometans, and treated as infidels. His Majesty, however, proposed to them the usual alternative of becoming Mussulmen, after the furious animals were brought into the square. Except one, the rest were so much intimidated that they readily accepted the koran; Aba, for that was the name of the one constant in his religion, braved death in preference to apostacy, and was torn in pieces by the furious beasts, invoking to the last, in his agonies, the name of God and the founder of his law.

In order to display the difference which exists between the violent and barbarous government of this country and that more mild and civilized under which we live in Europe, I shall relate an incident which occurred at court towards the close of last December.

Lala Bey \*, the King's treasurer, his first minister and intendant over all matters relative to merchandise, attending him one day at his levèr, on account of having

\* The story of Ali Bey of the Archbishop of Cambray, in the fables composed by him for the use of the Dauphin of France, is taken from the latter part of this relation.

neglected to forward certain affairs with which he was entrusted, and having failed in attention to His Majesty's orders, the King was so highly enraged as to strike him with a stick which he had in his hand, and not content with this, directed the porters to beat him, which they did so unmercifully as to leave him for dead. Abbas, not willing, however, to lose a man who was so necessary to him, caused him to be taken up and carried home, whither he sent his own physicians, with attendants, ordered to keep watch over him constantly, that he might not, in despair, commit any violence on himself. Shortly after, on his being cured of his bruises, he was taken into perfect favour with the King, and served him afterwards constantly with fidelity, forgiving and forgetting the disgrace to which he had been exposed. This man is of mean origin, a Kurd by birth, and was so poor when taken into the service of the Shah, that the thread-bare dress he wore formed all his fortune. This, however, he preserves with the utmost care, that it may constantly remind him of his pristine state. At present he is extremely rich and powerful, and when told by the courtiers around him, that the King may some day call him to account, his answer is, "he knows nothing of accounts, and has none to render to the King; that all that he possesses has been derived from the employments with which His Majesty has honoured him, and all consequently belongs to his master. The Shah," adds he, "may take the whole when he will, and leave me again to resume the humble habit I still keep by me, and which I formerly wore." Thus does he turn the sneers of the courtiers into ridicule, while the King has implicit confidence in him, which he is reputed honestly to deserve.

The Mahometans in Persia celebrated, on the 15th of February, a festival, called Isfend, from the name of a plant which makes its appearance the first of any, and is considered the harbinger of spring. This festival is not appointed by the lunar but the solar year, on the day when the sun enters the twenty-fifth degree of Aquarius.

And now, as for what regards me individually, I have again changed my place of abode, being dissatisfied with the house in which I passed the spring, on account of its being gloomy and dull; and rather than be subject to change continually, to which the guests of His Majesty are liable, I have hired one, with which I am greatly pleased, for as long a time as I choose to keep it. This house is handsome, cheerful, well planned in point of convenience, and has attached to it a beautiful garden, through which flows a running stream which supplies a reservoir in the audience chamber. The garden has a raised esplanade of a bow shot in length, built very neatly of brick, where I walk to study, as I prefer the open air to the house. The house, moreover, has an interior apartment in the shape of a cross, formed by four handsome rooms, surmounted by a high and noble dome, by which the light is admitted, so that the rays of the sun penetrate but obliquely, and do not reach below. The Paromifades, which I take to be the people of the present Zabelistaun at the extremity of this empire, according to Diodorus, were accustomed to build their houses in this manner; that is to say, with arched domes, with only one hole in the middle of the dome as a passage for the smoke and entrance for the light. The Persians of the present day build most of their houses in this manner. On the roofs are terraces, affording prospects of the country without exposure to any one. In short, I am delighted with my new acquisition. The garden is full of trees, some planted for the sake of their foliage, others for their fruit, of flowers and plants to please the senses and serve as well for food.

With this I shall finish my letter, saluting you cordially and all our mutual friends, wishing you health and prosperity.



## LETTERS IX. X. XI. AND XII.

THESE letters simply comprife a history of the politics and events of the times, collected in various records, or matters merely personal to the author.

## LETTER XIII.

THIS is replete wholly with a panegyric on Shah Abbas the Great.

## LETTER XIV.

*From Hispahan, 24th Sept. 1621.*

I MAY say with St. Jerome, that my wishes are completed since I have received your letter of the 27th of Nov. 1620, which to me has been a most refreshing beverage after two years of thirst. As for the drugs and medicaments of which your friend complains that I am silent, it astonishes me, as I have repeatedly written to him that no one here knows any thing of Amomum, not even in Media where it is reputed to grow. As for Hama-ma, the druggists are ignorant of the plant, and sell nothing that bears similitude to it in name but a certain seed of which I sent you a specimen from Bagdad, in 1616, together with those of other drugs, without ever receiving any mention of them from you in return. I have likewise sent to our friend Horace a small bag of the flowers of the bid-musk or the musk-tree, as common in Persia as it is rare in Europe, the appellation of which is given on account of its fragrant, musk-like flavour. I send him the ripe flowers on account of the grain being so very light and delicate as to be difficult of preservation when separated from its envelope. I kiss your hands.

## LETTER XV.

*Shiraz, 21st October 1621.*

AFTER reposing a while from the fatigue incident on the journey to this place, where we obtained a reception from the English in their factory, I cannot refrain from presenting my respects, and imparting to you the curiosities which we noticed on our way hither from Hispahan. I shall, therefore, premise what I have to say with informing you, that, having some time before taken my leave of His Majesty, I could not presume to appear in any public place while he was present, and had no further business there than to prepare for my travels.

On Friday, therefore, the 1st of October, our baggage and cattle being gone before, and awaiting us on the high-road to Shiraz, shaded by trees without the gates of the city, we proceeded to join them, after taking leave of our friends; and that night travelled four leagues, stopping at a town or castle called Housseinabad, where we met with indifferent fare. When the places at which we should stop might not be comfortable, we proposed sleeping under our tents in the open country. We had likewise provided necessary dresses for our horses, after the fashion of those used in the King's camp; which, as I do not recollect ever to have mentioned, I shall take this occasion of describing.

The horses are constantly kept exposed to the open air, as well by night as by day, provided, however, against the weather, and particularly in winter, not only by a cloth as with us, but also by an over-cloth, which is thick and made of hair, called a shawl, which keeps them warm, and preserves them from the air, rain, and even snow, should it chance to fall. They set apart a space of tolerable large size proportionate to the number of horses, which they broom and clean very neatly. In this they are tied one by the side of the other, in the same manner as we are wont in our stables, to a rope of sufficient length, fastened tight to two stakes of iron at each end, driven some depth into

the ground, leaving the halter by which they are tied of sufficient length to allow them the liberty of moving in freedom. To keep them quiet, and prevent their committing any violence, they are fastened by the two hind feet to a cord, which divides into two branches, with a nook at each end for the insertion of the feet, of sufficient length to allow of their laying down and standing at ease. This method they always follow in their stables at home also; and is of such ancient practice as to have existed in the time of Cyrus, according to Xenophon. Instead of making a bed of straw for them, they sift sand or dust. They are not suffered to feed from the ground, the custom of keeping their neck continually bent making them heavy-headed, but they put their feed in a large bag, which is fastened to the neck of each horse, as is done by our carmen and coachmen at Rome. The food they give them in this bag consists of corn, bran, and chopped straw; the corn is barley, as no oats grow in Persia: in May they feed them on grass and green barley. They are remarkable in this country for a usage uncommon with us, but which it might be well to follow. The first question asked on buying a horse of any one is, the quantity of food it has been accustomed to; and the reason they give is, that if they were to exceed the proper quantity, which is in proportion to its size and condition, it would create humours, swollen legs, and render the animal unserviceable. When worked, they augment the portion given at other times. The Persians differ from us likewise in this particular: they use the same kind of bit for all their horses alike; it is a kind of bastard snaffle, and the only difference between one another is in its size, which is suited to the mouth of the horse. They make use of no curb, but with the simple snaffle break in and manage their animals with the greatest dexterity, even in full gallop on the most slippery ground, and descending the steepest precipices without fear of their stumbling; taking no pains as we do to make them hold their head erect with their neck arched like the rainbow.

The natural swiftness of the horses of this country, and their small doe-like head, stand in lieu of all the lessons of the riding-school. To make them go, neither switch nor spur is necessary; instead of these every horseman is provided with a whip, much smaller than those used by postillions with us, and made of twisted cord of parchment with a silk lash at the end; with which upon their touching them behind, they dart forward with as much celerity as if you drew blood with a spur: some persons, indeed, fix a small sharp piece of iron in the heel of the boot, but all are perfectly free from the incumbrances with which our feet are loaded to fasten on the spur. The saddles are of the Turkish or Arabian fashion, of wood covered with leather or velvet without any stuffing, and are consequently very hard and unpleasant. These saddles are, however, used only by a certain few, consisting of old people and persons attached to ancient modes. The cavalry use the saddles common to the Usbeck Tatars, as being more commodious. These are covered with a good pad, and made in a fanciful manner, very high in front and behind, so that the rider may turn with great swiftness without any danger of being unfaddled. They have, moreover, the advantage of being much lighter, neater, and not near so awkward as ours. Persia abounds so plentifully in horses, that the best I had, and which I used as a war horse, cost no more than thirty sequins (15*l.* sterling), saddle and bridle included: another, I gave seven sequins for it in the market at Hispahan, and it served me in the regiment for more than a year, after which I made present of it to my brother-in-law, who took it with him to Bagdad. Although these horses cost little, they are so excellent that I am entirely weaned from my partiality for those of Naples or Rome. There are few among them very high or very strong, and still fewer race-horses, as they are not solicitous of increasing the breed of these, principally confining themselves to the useful breed, full of spirit,



capable of bearing fatigue, and fit for the saddle. They have among them some trained to canter, the nostrils of which are very wide to facilitate respiration; these will keep continually the same pace for seven or eight leagues at a stretch, without fatiguing the rider in the slightest degree. A trained horse of this description costs from eighteen to twenty sequins.

On Saturday evening, 2d October, after resting below the village of Housseinabad, the moon being up, we continued our journey, bending our course directly south, and on Sunday by day-break, after travelling five or six leagues in the night, we stopt at a caravanferai near a village called Mehlar. Two hours after sunset we set off, accompanied by Ghulamali, a Mahometan courier in the service of the Portoguese, who overtook us on the road, going express from our monks to Ormus, and was directed to serve me as a guide; and after five or six leagues, the sun being risen to some height, we halted at the caravanferai of a large town called Comshè, till three hours after night-fall, when we departed. On Tuesday, journeying eight leagues by moon-light, we rested in a garden in the midst of a town with a castle called Amenabad. Soon as the moon rose on the following night we mounted our horses anew, travelling this day no more than four leagues on account of there being no place where we could halt, except at a great distance from the village at which we stopped, called Izdkast, (or God's will.) This village or town is situated in the opening of a small mountain, in a low and confined situation, inclosed by rocks on the west and north, and exposed to the east and south winds. We resumed our progress at the close of day, and after eight leagues dismounted at the village of Dehighirdu, or the village of walnut-trees; so named from the abundance of them about the place. Here, under the shade of four large trees in the midst of the court of the caravanferai, we spent the day. After supping, we went no more than two leagues to the town of Kuskizer, at which we arrived on Friday morning, a little before dawn. Here we saw a number of houses inhabited by Georgians and Circassians, sent hither by the reigning sovereign, in addition to those belonging to the natives of the province. At a league beyond this town we crossed a handsome bridge over a small river, which bears the name of the last town. The Persians and Turks call certain open buildings erected in a garden or on an eminent situation, Koufk, or Kiofek, from one of which this town takes its name, Kuskizer, signifying the golden Kiosk. Our place of rest on Saturday morning was at the village of Asbas, at the foot of a mountain, near a rivulet which falls from its sides. On this mountain is a large garden surrounded by walls and planted thick with poplars. Near the same village is a castle built on an eminence surrounded by two inclosures of walls, the one at the summit, the other at the foot of the hill. These walls, simple curtains joined to outworks by lines of communication of no great strength, and mostly in ruins. The ditches are full of water, and their banks covered with large willows, which form a handsome crown for the castle, and serve to give shade to the plain, in which are a number of Circassian and Georgian dwellings, as well here as in all the neighbouring towns.

We left the village of Asbas three hours after night had assumed its reign, and travelling four leagues reached a caravanferai, not yet wholly completed, in a town called Ugian, the revenue of which is set apart for the maintenance of the sepulchre of an ancient Prince of the Blood Royal, called Seid Ahmed, who died as he was passing through this place. This Prince was a son of Shah Sofi; he founded a perpetual establishment for travellers, who are received and maintained here gratuitously. Here we were served with an excellent soup, and a fowl cooked in a much better manner than at Ardebil. Ugian is called by the inhabitants Ardebil the Less. The building is a short distance from the village, and has a garden walled-in for the benefit

benefit of the guardians of the tomb; the caravanferai is in the middle between the village and the sepulchre, which is not superb, consisting only of a small dome raised on pillars, and some other pieces of architecture. Hence we did not depart till midnight, waiting for the moon rising to have light on our way through the mountains, which was difficult and dangerous. By favour of the moon we traversed the remainder of the plain and passed the mountain, in doing which we were frequently obliged to dismount. By dawn of day we reached its opposite foot, in a spot venerable among the Mahometans as the place of sepulture of their Imauns, called Imaunzadè Ismail; after which we entered a narrow valley three or four leagues in length, inclosed by mountains, and having completed altogether six or seven leagues, arrived in the afternoon at a large town called Mayin, inhabited by Circassians and natives of the country. Here, however, finding only a small ruined caravanferai full of people, we were obliged to pass on and encamp in a plain near a large garden. On our road over the mountain and through the plains I remarked a number of pistachio-trees, which I had mistaken for turpentine-trees. They are called by the Arabs batom; by the Turks chiaciacuchi. I distinguished likewise other plants, which from their roots send up a number of green, long and separate shoots, stronger and more stiff than the rushes of which we make mats, and which produce a kind of bitter almond. The almonds, however, I did not see, as it was not their fruiting season. The following night we rose with the moon a little before day, and continued our journey by a constant and almost imperceptible ascent for three leagues, attaining at length the summit of a plain by half an hour after noon, and reaching the banks of a river which flows from north to south, over which is a bridge of brick, which, notwithstanding it be old, and the parapets at its sides in a state of decay, is yet called Puli New, or New Bridge. This river is called Kur, retaining to our days thus the name of Cyrus, which is Kur with a Latin termination. On the banks of this river was it, according to Strabo, that Cyrus, when an infant, was exposed, and received his name from the place where he was left, rather than that where he was born, which was at Agradat. After passing the Kur, (which there is no doubt is the same as the Araxis mentioned by Diodorus and Quintus Curtius, since it flows near Persepolis, that there is none other deserving of the name of river, and that Araxis, in the ancient language of the country signified the river; so, perhaps, styled by way of eminence,) we rested at a house by itself, inhabited by a family which receives passengers. Before we crossed the bridge we perceived on the eastern bank, opposite to us, two large rocks, on the summit of which formerly were two castles built of the stone hewn from their bases, the nearest of which to the bridge was called Calaaï Sakt (the strong castle), the other Calaaï Shekisktè (the ruined castle). The banks of the river are covered with certain trees resembling our juniper, a sort of cedar of Lebanon, but smaller, called by the Persians ghiz, the wood of which is very handsome; as, however, these trees grow to no size in this country, it is not adapted for any large cabinet-work, and serves only for gunstocks. Quintus Curtius, indeed, relates that the palace of Persepolis was built of cedar, and on that account was so soon consumed when set on fire by Alexander; which if the case, Persia must then have produced cedars of large size: such, however, grow there no more. The remainder of the day we passed under the shade of these trees, and the following night in the house. The next day at dawn, the 13th of October, leaving the high road to Shiraz, we repassed the Puli new, and followed the course of the river towards those famous ruins called Chehil minar or the forty columns, the illustrious remains of the ancient Persepolis, which I so ardently and so long had wished to see, and to reach which required but little divergency from our road towards the east. After proceeding for four leagues in this direction, and passing



a small river called Pelevar, which flows from north to south, and which empties itself into the Kur, first watering one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in Persia, and worthy of the large and flourishing city it formerly contained, we arrived on the spot at two o'clock in the afternoon, where we pitched our tents on the margin of a rivulet, resolved to take a minute survey of the curiosities it offered.

Persepolis, a city celebrated in sacred and profane history, was likewise called Elymais, as we are told in Scripture, in the sixth chapter of the first book of the Machabees, and the ninth chapter, book second, where it is described under both names. Some, indeed, contend that Shiraz, the capital of Persia Proper, or Farsistan, is the same with Persepolis, but certainly such are in error, Shiraz not being a city of ancient foundation, and, moreover, being ten parasangs or leagues distant from these ruins, in a south western direction, which indisputably was the site of that ancient city. Their position is in a beautiful and wide-extending plain of a round figure, encircled almost on every side by small hills in form of an amphitheatre, the diameter of which may be about four leagues. At the extremity of this plain, which we crossed from the east, the ruins are discernible, at the foot of the mountain on which according to Diodorus the Royal Palace of Cyrus was built, with this exception, that Diodorus states it to have been built at four plethres (four hundred feet according to some) from the mountain, whereas the ruins are immediately contiguous to its base. The term Minar applied to these ruins by the Persians is from the resemblance of the columns to certain towers of that name, whence in Mahometan cities the hour is called to summon the people to prayers; the term chehil meaning forty, which was, no doubt, the number of the columns standing at the time the appellation was originally given. These ruins front the plain towards the west, and have at the back of them the mountain towards the east. From the remains it is impossible to comprehend what was the form or extent of the building, as well on account of its ruined state as the destitution on the part of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of any history which might throw light in past times. It might have been either a temple or a palace; but I am rather induced to conjecture it to have been a temple. I shall, however, give as good a description of it as I can, and assign the reasons for my opinion.

At the foot of the mountain, called by the inhabitants of the country Cuh i rahmet, or the Mountain of Mercy, and by the ancients, according to Diodorus, the Royal Mountain, turning your back on the plain and the west, and fronting the mountain and the east, you see before you two large marble staircases, one of which fronts the south, the opposite one the north, both exactly similar. These staircases are thirty feet wide, and steep after the manner of the Persians; the wall for the support of them terminating in a point, and rising a foot above each stair. Each stair is a foot and a half broad, and three or four fingers' breadth in height; seventeen of them alone are single blocks. Each staircase has two flights, the one higher and broader than the other; the second flight of that which fronts the south facing the north, and that of its opposite the reverse; and these two upper flights are uncovered and separated from each other by a wall of large stones, which supports both the one and the other. In one of the first flights there might be about fifty-three steps; I say about, for being broken it was impossible to count them exactly. At the summit of this flight is a large landing-place, square and proportioned in size to the staircase; this, with the walls and the whole of the edifice, is of large blocks, hard and well polished, and calculated, as Diodorus observes, to last for ever. It appeared to me, however, to be rather built of stained marble than white; although that of the stairs approached very nearly to black. In the second flight I reckoned about forty-eight stairs, and at the top I came to a kind of large even square,

square, in the midst of which I perceived the ruins of a building. I was unable to comprehend whether or not this was a grand and superb corridore, with a porch or vestibule leading to some other apartment of this edifice, as there was no vestige of any such remaining. The first objects which presented themselves were two monsters with the body of a horse, and the head of a man. The body was, as it were, barbed over with mail, like the flat heads of large nails, representing the armour of iron plates related by Quintus Curtius to have been worn by the horses in the army of Darius. The head, from which depended a large beard and long hair, was covered with a handsome round cap with a flat top to it, surmounted by a large round ball. These animals had wings resembling those given to griffins, and their faces were turned towards the top of the stairs. On their shoulders they upheld a large stone wall, as thick as the breadth of their back allowed, so that these monsters were merely the supporters of two walls, on the top of which whether there were any other figures or pieces of architecture I could not distinguish. The size of these monsters was proportionate to their base, which was twenty-eight of my feet, and the distance from each other less than the length of that base. Behind these were four straight columns opposite to each other, of similar proportions and at equal distance, two by two, the same as the monsters; two of which remain standing, and two prostrate on the ground. Beyond these columns are two other monsters similarly disposed to the former, but with a varying aspect, their looks being directed to the mountain and their backs towards the columns, enclosed as it were by the four monsters; whence one may readily conjecture, that this was the site of the building supported by these four monsters, two at each extremity, and the four columns in the middle. Nevertheless there is no mark of there having ever been any story above, or even any covering. The square or expanse in midst of which these monsters are placed is very extensive, and terminates with the mountain, so that as it could spread no farther towards the east, the remainder of the building stretches towards the south in manner following: From the middle of this large place going to the south, I discovered on the left a large square reservoir of marble even with the floor, which possibly served to hold water to wash with, each side of it was about twenty-four feet long, two palms in thickness, and seven feet in depth. Farther on, I came to another double staircase, likewise of marble, by which you ascended from east to west, and from west to east, each of them of thirty-one steps, not quite so large but little smaller than the first. This double staircase is in the middle of the front of an interior apartment of greater extent than the staircase, so that there is a considerable vacancy beyond at the foot of the stairs along the wall, which serves for their support. In this space, which by a division is separated into two rows, one above the other, on both sides are several figures in procession, all of them having their faces directed towards the stairs, as if about to ascend and enter the house. Before the double staircase, in a large space, which seems a frontispiece worked between the two staircases, were other figures in relief, of much greater size, confusedly grouped together without division. Time, which spares nothing, had levelled with the ground, and prevented all research into what they could have been. I was also at loss to comprehend what was represented by the procession of the other figures, but conceived them meant to pourtray the pomp of a sacrifice, (particularly should this superb edifice, as I conjecture, have been a temple,) the suite of a triumph, or a King desirous of shewing himself with magnificence, as Xenophon describes Cyrus to have done at his departure, or possibly the order and pageantry used in making presents, as mentioned by Elian to have been anciently the practice, and as is the custom now. Whichsoever it may be, the figures are ranged in this manner at the two extre-



of a large lion tearing to pieces another great animal, which on one side is a unicorn, and on the other a wild goat, if my memory serve me truly. Near the lion is a long inscription, which fills the whole space of the wall from the greatest height of these figures to the bottom; as, however, the characters are utterly unknown, no one has been able to tell the language in which they were written. All that I can say, is, that they are of prodigious size, not joined together to form a word, but separate like the Hebrew characters, and farther apart, which makes me conceive that each character is a distinct word. I have copied from among them, five of those which most frequently occur in the best manner I was able. As, however, the lines were completely filled, I was unable to ascertain whether they were written from right to left after the eastern manner, or the contrary as we are wont. The five characters which I copied are thus formed.

The second is composed of four figures of similar shape, wedge formed or pyramidal, three of them perpendicular with the point downwards, and the fourth beneath them horizontal: I am induced to believe they were read from left to right, after our manner from the base being at the left, the point towards the right, and the point always being downwards; the same appears in the fourth character, composed of a single pyramidal figure sloping from left to right, and likewise in the small wedge-like figure in the middle of the third character. If it be objected that the pyramidal figure may begin from the point and not the base, in answer it may be assumed, that if so, the point should begin at the top, and not the base as is the case in every instance; since in all characters their beginning, the head, is universally from the upper and not the lower part. These, however, are merely conjectures of mine, which possibly may be wrong. I have further remarked, that all these characters are composed of the same wedge-like figures, and angular ones of a much smaller size, and that the number and position of these alone constitute the diversity of the letters. After this inscription the perversion of the small figures in relievo succeeds, some of which represent men of low condition, being meanly clad with long pantaloons like those worn on the stage, and their small cassock fitting close to the waist, where it is fastened by a band, and hanging in folds and increasing in width below to the middle of the thigh, forming altogether a dress which closely resembles that of the inhabitants of the province of Mazanderan of the present day, as well as that of the people who inhabit the sea coast. The costume of these portraits however differs from the dress of the present day in this respect: the figures have long hair and beards, and in lieu of a turban the head is encircled by a narrow band almost resembling the ancient crowns worn by the Emperor of Rome. These men also carry a large staff somewhat resembling a half pike, which is not borne on the shoulders, but upright, the point upwards. In the other hand they hold various other things; some, instruments of music, round and composed of two circles, almost resembling the bracelets of our women; others baskets of fruit, meat and round balls; some, again, are leading two lambs or sheep with crooked horns, and others a camel, an ass, a mule, a bull, a calf, or a horse. The leading such animals makes me conjecture the procession represents that preparatory to a sacrifice; as most of them are of those formerly slain as victims by various nations at the altar, and the horse in particular by the Persians to the sun, as related by Xenophon and many other authors; and, if the procession of a sacrifice, we may fairly conclude that the edifice was a temple. As I examined the rest of the procession, I noticed some who carried certain hammers in their hand, and others somewhat suspended to their sash, which terminated in a point behind and before in form of a triangle, except that the lines were spherical and not straight. This I apprehend is to represent the skin of some animal for holding water, although the

shape of it vary from those used in Europe now. Others, again, carried large shields which covered the whole of their body, while some accompanied on foot carriages with two wheels drawn by a single horse. Both Xenophon and Quintus Curtius make mention of these carriages consecrated to Jupiter and the sun, and relate that Cyrus as well as Darius had such led before them when they travelled in the country. Among these figures are some few which appear to be of superior condition to the rest, who, otherwise dressed in the same manner, have a kind of a hood narrowing to a point as low as the middle of the back, and thence descending to the ground; while others wear a small pointed cap plaited round; but the most remarkable and distinguished among them have robes which reach to the feet, the lower part of which is in folds, and a jacket which covers the upper part has sleeves down to the middle of the hand; they have moreover a collar round the neck, thus sanctioning the testimony of Agathias, who states such to have been worn in his time by principal personages among the Medes and Persians. At the girdle they wear a dagger, similar to the custom of the Arabs even now, the blade of which is broad and curved like a scythe, the handle close to the breast. This weapon is undoubtedly the *Acinax* of the Persians noticed by Horace, and some of our ancient authors. Besides this, they have a staff in their hand, less as a support to their age apparently than a mark of authority, similar to that borne by the field marshals. One of their number marches before the whole band and leads on with the left hand the first of those who follow him with their pointed caps and hoods. Of these who seem the most distinguished and walk first towards the top of the stair-case, leading on the whole procession, in addition to the dress I have described them to wear, some have a round cap larger at top than at bottom, and much resembling that of a Roman senator, except that it has no rim, being fluted and plaited equally all the way round to the middle, where the plaits are joined to a button somewhat prominent at the top. Besides the pike which they carry in the hand, they have a bow over their shoulder, through which the arm passes, with a quiver full of arrows hanging at their back. The dresses of some have large sleeves flounced after the manner of the shirts of the Arabs. Between the figures which form the procession several cypress trees appear at intervals, which only serve as an ornament, and are of no better execution than the personages or the animals. The value indeed of this work consists in the antiquity of the dresses being correctly represented, and the magnificence of the stone of which the building is constructed, rather than in the brilliancy of the execution, which is not by the hand of a master.

Ascending this second stair-case, and fronting the south, I came on a large floor, at the entrance of which is a vacant space which reaches from one extremity of the building to the other, from east to west, between apparently a portico or short street of columns, of such prodigious dimensions that one could scarcely be clasped by three persons. The chief of these are prostrate, no more than five and twenty standing on their bases, the number of them being much diminished since the name of *Chehil minar* or forty pillars was given to this superb edifice, that number presumptively standing at the time it was given. Time, that great destroyer, has since then levelled fifteen, the bases of which are yet to be discerned, and is daily undermining those which remain. The plan of them is as follows. In the first place, at the entrance of this large porch, are two rows of columns which fill the whole breadth of the front of the edifice from east to west. A little beyond, towards the south, is another empty space capable of having contained two other rows of columns, at proportionate distance from each other. The middle contains six rows of columns running from north to south, and two of the whole breadth placed from east to west, with two others opposite to them which extend eastward



eastward to the mountain on the left, so that the six rows in the middle are enclosed on four sides; the distance from one column to the other is twenty-six feet. They are not all of similar dimensions or elevation, some being higher than the others, which makes me conceive that they did not serve as support to a roof, particularly as there is not the slightest vestige on the floor of any having fallen in. I conclude, therefore, as it appears to have had no roof, that this edifice cannot reasonably be imagined to have been a royal palace. Beyond these columns towards the south you come to a large place fifty paces in length, where are two apartments, the one on the right hand fronting the plain, the other on the left towards the mountain. In the entrance of that on the right is a small marble court: neither of them properly speaking are chambers, but square open apartments without any roof and enclosed not by walls but door and window frames of marble, so disposed that each face of the square has a large door in the middle, and one smaller on each side of it, or a small door in the middle with a large one on each side, besides other openings similar to our trellis work and Venetian blinds. The plan of these small square places, full of doors and windows, lead one to imagine that they were formerly rooms, particularly as those of the Persians are constructed after the same manner even at present; but the want of any dome or roof, or the trace of such having ever existed, makes me incline to think otherwise; neither can I conceive it to have been a burial-place, as there is no tomb visible nor any sign of interment. May it not, therefore, have been a temple in which prayers and sacrifices were offered to the Gods under the canopy of heaven alone, as was usual among many ancient nations, and is still common with Mahometans. In the interval between one of these grand portals, in the middle of the front and the small ones on the side, is the figure of a person of distinction in a dress which reaches to the ground, the robe being plaited from the waist downwards, and the sleeve large and flounced. He holds a staff in his right hand either as a support or a symbol of authority, and wears in his head one of those round caps, flat on the top, which I have before described, but without the ball above; his hair and beard are long, and his posture denotes his intention of entering, his eyes and face being turned towards the south. Behind him is a servant, bare-headed, and his hair fastened by a band; in one hand he holds a large umbrella over the head of his master, and in the other a stick curved at the end like the crozier of our bishops, which he carries upright under the umbrella behind the head: if the first figure be that of a King, this may represent a sceptre, or some mark of distinction, if it be a priest; one of which I doubt not it is. In the other great portals, on the sides fronting the rising and setting sun, are representations of men wrestling, or fighting with lions, dressed in their long plaited robes like the other figures I have described. At the back of this square inclosure, in another open space, which is paved, and seems to have been a small court, are two large pillars erect, with inscriptions on them, the characters of which I was unable to decypher on account of their height from the ground. Beyond this court, I came to another, much larger, but of similar architecture, in a large vacant space built upon on the opposite and not on the same side with the edifice, where was a figure of a man of quality with his umbrella exquisitely well represented, on one of the supports of the great gate in the middle, the posture of whose body varied from the direction of the sight, that is to say, while looking towards the north, as if going to the inside, his body fronted the south as if about to go out, whence it should seem that this was the most interior part of the building. Proceeding from this enclosure continually towards the south, I came to another place ornamented with six rows of columns grouped in a square, in the midst of which, under ground, that is to say, under a pavement of large stones, I discovered a conduit of water. Each of



these columns was about four feet in diameter, and four breadths distant from its next, with the appearance of a former portico or large wall of stone, with windows all around them; this was the extremity of the edifice towards the south: beyond, nothing is visible but pieces of masonry and immense foundations which just appear above the surface. I had forgot to mention, that at the first entrance of the second hall, which succeeds the second stair-case towards the east, distant from the foot of the mountain, and corresponding to the first columns, there is another square enclosure of the same form as the rest. It is entirely away from the building, and was originally contrived in all probability merely to fill up the void between it and the mountain.

We passed the whole of Thursday, 14th October, under our tents and about the ruins of Chehil minar, whence I rode about a league on horseback towards the north to see some ancient figures at the bottom of the mountains which surround the plain, called by the inhabitants Nakshi Rostan (the pictures of Rostan), conceiving them to be representations of Rostan and some of his memorable actions. This Rostan is an ancient, here highly celebrated by the Persians for his prowess and gallantry, who lived, as they say, under the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyzes, and the various regiments; and individuals who pride themselves upon being called after his name sufficiently testify that what is related of him is not wholly fabulous. Passing therefore through a town called Mehrchouscon, the nearest to the Chehil minar, at a league beyond it, I arrived at the spot. Here at the bottom of the mountain I saw a large square cut in a rock of hardest stone. In this pannel were various figures cut in relievo of gigantic stature: one represented a Knight on horseback drest in long folded robes, his head covered with a cap similar to that I had noticed at the Chehil minar on the image of a person of distinction, who held in his left hand a club such as that given in our portraits of Hercules, and in the right a ring, which another Knight, drest nearly like the first, ■ endeavouring to wrench from him. The only difference between the dress of the two Knights consists in the latter having nothing on his head, and his hair hanging down of some length; the horses of both are close together. In another place, a Knight on horseback, drest like the first, has his left hand placed on the guard of his sword, which is not curved like those of the Orientals of the present day, but straight and pointed like ours, while with the right somewhat raised and extended, he holds that of a man on foot, standing upright before him. Behind this person is another, his head bare, who kneels before the horse of the Knight. In another part, again, I saw certain matrons and young ladies of whom the inhabitants relate a number of fables, pointing out one as the mistress of the valiant Rostan. There are also many sepulchres cut in different places in the rock. Assuredly no method more certain could be used to perpetuate the memory of an individual than by means of these figures, which, cut in the live rock, and secured against the injuries of time and the violence of man, bid fare to endure as long as the mountain itself. Diodorus relates that Semiramis, after cutting a perpendicular front in a rock near the spot, where she caused her immense garden to be planted in Media in order to commemorate in perpetuity the execution of this work, caused her likeness with those of her guards to be cut in it. Near the relievos I have described, I saw in different parts certain works which bore evident marks of being some ancient places of sepulture. In the first place, two pedestals, square, with the angles somewhat ornamented, and a hole in the upper surface to preserve the ashes of the dead, if the Persians were wont to burn corpses; of which, however, I do not remember ever to have read. These two pedestals, which are but a little apart from each other, ■ detached from the rock, but have been roughly chieffied out of it. On another



side of the mountain, which is more perpendicular, even, and straight, looking like a wall, I perceived above several openings resembling windows, some larger than others, and capable of holding a man. I cannot conceive what purpose these can have served, unless as receptacles for the dead, according to Diodorus, who says, that the ancient Kings of Persia were buried in grottoes cut in the top of mountains, in which they were not deposited by hands but by means of machines. Finally, in different places on the slope of mountains, I saw representations cut on a perpendicular and very even front, and framed about by the stone of the front, of a house with a door in the middle, and several columns on each side supporting the architrave, frieze, cornice and frontispiece, according to all the rules of architecture and figures cut in the frontispiece, which, however, from their being so very much above me, I could not minutely distinguish. The subject, however, appeared to be a man leaning on a bow, one of the extremities of which was in his hand, and the other on the ground, with his eyes directed towards an altar, as if he was either about to offer up a sacrifice or consult an oracle. Above these figures, those whose sight was better than mine, told me they perceived among the rest a figure which appeared to them to be meant for the devil. This might possibly be, and the personage Jemshid, or as some call him, on account of his beauty, Choshid, which in the ancient language of Persia means the sun, who reigned in Persia, a long time before Cyrus the Great, and who is still held in remembrance for having been a famous magician, having had power over malignant spirits, on which account the Persians likewise call him Diubend or the devil's link. The Persian historians relate that this Prince caused a number of statues or effigies of himself to be made and distributed all over the kingdom, with express command for his subjects to adore them. I should readily conceive that this might be Nebuchadnezzar, whose dominion might possibly have extended to some parts of Persia, were it not that Jemshid is of greater antiquity than either the Nebuchadnezzars, Daniel, Judith, or even Shalmanasar. The gates cut in the representation are short at the top, are formed of the same live rock with the rest, and are about a third part open at the bottom, wide enough to allow of entrance, by stooping, to the interior, which is empty. And, as there are two similar representations of like architecture in the mountains of Chehil-minar, into one of which admission is easy on account of the ascent up the rock not being so sharp nor equally perpendicular, I entered it the evening before I visited the ruins. The account given by Diodorus of the sepulchres of the Kings, I found exactly correspond with my observations; these are, as he describes them, cut in the body of the mountain, of a square figure, higher than the stature of a man, and with three large niches. In the middle of this grotto I saw a long stone lying on the ground sealed across the middle, which possibly might be the place of the tomb, if the niches were not. In these, I saw other large stones badly polished, the use of which I was unable to conjecture. These niches are much deeper than the rest of the cavern; and the channel that I saw on the outside cut in the rock, which seems to be a conduit for water, made me judge that they might be reservoirs, yet of what utility could water be in such places? I saw likewise under the mountains a large square chamber, somewhat elevated in form of a tower built of marble, and enclosed on all sides with only one door at the top, in an almost inaccessible spot, which I conjectured, was also a sepulchre. These buildings, cut in the rock, and erected at the foot of the mountains, make me imagine, first, that the city filled the whole of the plain, and secondly, that its inhabitants did not possess the ingenuity requisite for transporting large stones to any distance, as the most superb buildings and most excellent sculpture are either on the mountain itself or at its foot;



unless, indeed, the planners were actuated by a desire particularly with respect to the figures of making them last for ever, and preserve them in better condition than by any other means could be done.

After two days' examination of and reflection on the curiosities I have described, on Thursday three hours after sunset we left Chehil-minar, after supper, and proceeded towards the city of Shiraz, the capital of the province of Farsistan, and the chief residence of the governor Imanuli Khan. By the nearest road Shiraz is ten leagues distant, but on account of a bridge being broken down which laid on our way, we were obliged to go two leagues about to cross the Kur, by another bridge, Culla Bend Emir, two leagues from Chehil-minar. We travelled all night long, wandering about on each side, on account of the absence of the moon, and the whole of these plains, which are sowed with rice and other grain, being watered and intersected by a number of small rivulets, of which we had to seek the fords: at length, on Friday morning, a little before day, we passed the bridge of Bend Emir. After crossing the river, we rounded a mountain which we kept on our left for some time, and descending a pretty deep valley, at length arrived at a village called Zercon, only six leagues distant from Chehil-minar, although by our wandering we had journeyed much more. Here we rested in a house, the master of which afforded us great accommodation. At the second or third hour of the night we mounted our horses anew, and rode onward till sunrise, by which time we reached the gardens of Shiraz, on Saturday, 6th of October. Shiraz is situated in a small plain, entirely surrounded by hills. On entering it by a narrow pass between the mountains, we rode beneath a large arch ornamented on the sides by different figures of lions and other animals, and having a number of inscriptions by various hands. This arch goes over the whole road and joins one mountain to the other. It has, in consequence, obtained the name of Tengeh Ekbar, or the pass of the Most High. On leaving this pass, we entered on a long, broad, and spacious causeway, adorned by gardens on each side, and embellished by a number of buildings, which form the chief ornament of Shiraz. We were much delighted with the prospect about us, but our pleasure was increased on reaching, midway to the city, the margin of a large canal eighty-three paces in length, by fifty in breadth, the water in which was level with the surface of the ground. The canal was divided by the road, which here has walls on each side of it, with arches on them, allowing a view of the water. Hence we continued our way as straight as a line to the city. A little beyond the canal we perceived a small and ancient mosque, somewhat away from the road on the left, called from a person who filled that office, by whom it was built and who was buried there, the mosque of the Calanter. Near this place is the muffle, or place where public prayers are read, on a stream of clear water, which runs from the canal, and which is covered and shaded by large green leafy trees, whose agreeable situation induced us to unload our baggage here and rest ourselves till we could hire a house in the city to suit us. This having effected, we entered the city by the handsome causeway, passing through the middle of the meidan, or public square, which is rather without the walls, and is a favourite place of resort for the gay, as well as over an elegant stone bridge, not over a river but a ravine through which, in the winter, or after rain, the water flows, which rushes in torrents from the neighbouring mountain. After passing the gates, we came to a long straight street, at the end of which we found a large bazar or market, vaulted over according to the custom of the country, furnished with shops all round, and on one side of it we took up our abode, in a house that had been got ready for us belonging to one Hussein



Bey, a native of Bagdat, but who, from infancy, had lived in Persia, where he had a wife and children.

We had no intention of making any long stay in this city, but simply to rest here awhile. Wherefore, we had scarcely arrived ere we began seeking for new muleteers to take us forward, as those which had brought us to Shiraz were engaged to go no farther. While, therefore, our baggage was loading, I employed myself in examining every thing remarkable.

This city is large, and one of the best and most populous in the empire. It is not, however, of any great antiquity, as is easily perceived by the inscriptions about it, its architecture, and other indices, which plainly shew it to be a work of the Mahometans, who are incurious architects. In short, it contains within its walls nothing that is elegant, nor can boast of any thing whatsoever that is extraordinary. Its streets for the most part are narrow, crooked, badly paved, the houses badly built. The palace of the khan is not far distant from the house where we were lodged, and fronting a large square. It is inclosed by walls, with vaulted galleries around, which have a good effect. Opposite to the gate of the castle, at the entrance of this large square, is a small house, whence every evening music is given as in Hispahan, and whither the officers belonging to the Khan repair to pay their court according to the general custom of the Persians. In another neighbouring square is a public college for education, newly built, called Medrissè, the handsomest and most flourishing of any in the kingdom. This new structure is erected on the spot where criminals formerly were executed, and in a small vacancy in front of it mountebanks erect their stages to divert the people. There is another square, the most spacious of any in Hispahan, called the bazar or horse-market, in which is a royal palace and a large garden, and this undoubtedly is the most elegant and superb house in the city, where the English dwell, some of them being constantly here for the regulation of their affairs. Near the palace of the Khan, below the small house, whence music is given to the public, is another covered market, the best fancied and most handsomely built of any in the city. Of all the numerous mosques, I saw but one deserving notice, lately built by one Aga-riza, a rich Mahometan from India, who carried on an immense trade in Persia, particularly with Shiraz. Finally, the last thing which I saw deserving notice was an animal (a hyæna), called by the Persians castar, as strong as a large mastiff, but which had not grown to its full size. It was of the colour, form, and appearance of a tiger, but had the muzzle of a hog. I am told that it will eat human flesh, and to obtain it makes its way to the tombs it finds in the country, for the carcases they contain.

Having nothing more to write of to you respecting Shiraz, I shall finish this with an account of my affairs and family, premising that all of us enjoy good health, and that our travels have hitherto been pleasant. For myself I have recovered my strength and appetite to such a degree, that I can occasionally eat a large fowl for my breakfast. The little time we stayed in this city did not allow us to make any acquaintance. One Armenian Christian alone, out of respect to the master of our house, came to visit us, and shewed us great civility. To-morrow we mean to depart. With my most humble service which I proffer to yourself, I beg you to present my best respects to all our friends at Naples.

## LETTER XVI.

*From the Gardens of Shiraz, 27th July 1622.*

IF I have suffered nine months to elapse without writing to you, attribute it not to fault in me or forgetfulness, — no, your image is too deeply engraven on my mind to allow of time effacing it : I have met with a misfortune, weighed against which, every other calamity were light ; — I have lost my dear wife, Madame Maani, whose life was my only blessing, whose death makes life a burthen. You will most likely have heard of my loss by means of the Carmelites, who, no doubt, will have communicated the event to Rome. I am ready to imagine that your commiseration will have been deeply excited, and that although you know her but by her fair report, you will much have lamented the premature death of such a person, and in whose esteem you held so high a place. However, it is past ; it was the will of God, and she, I hope, in heaven, reaps the harvest of her worth : for me, in this vale of misery, deprived of my dear partner, I wander about a wretched instance of human calamity. I have travelled about a great deal, in great measure without other object than to seek a remedy for the wound I have received.

On the 22d October, last year, all of us being in perfect health, we left the city of Shiraz by the same gate at which we entered, with design of taking the road to Ormuz ; and in order to prepare for our departure with less embarrassment, we pitched our tents near the mosque of the Calanter, on the banks of the canal, where I am at present. We hired for our journey some excellent camels, as well for the transport of our luggage as to carry our litters ; and on Sunday, the 24th of October, every thing being ready, as night began we quitted our station, and turning our backs on Shiraz, proceeded towards our destination nearly in a southern direction. After travelling three leagues, we passed a bridge over a ravine, through which flew occasionally the torrents which gush from the mountains, but which when we passed was dry. A little beyond the bridge is a caravanferai, which, although entire, is without inhabitants, as well as a ruined castle in the neighbourhood, owing to the want of water. Here the road divides ; that on the right hand, which is the most frequented, leading to Lar, the most eastern and least beaten going to Passa, which is that we took, it being a less dangerous road to travel in time of war. As, however, there was no place where we could lodge except at a considerable distance, we unloaded our camels in a handsome plain out of the high road, where we stopped the remainder of the night, and almost all the following day, which was the second of our journey. Two hours before night-fall we departed hence, and continued travelling till day-break between two long mountains and two sloping hills ; beyond them, near the foot of one of which on the right, the road runs ; the other being at some distance on the left, in a large plain almost entirely white and covered with salt. At length, after journeying four leagues, we arrived at a place called Jiganli, where, on the banks of a rivulet of good water, we saw a few houses, inhabited by Turkmans, and a race of people called Behi, who, by means of the water of this stream, fertilize their fields and cultivate cotton. We left Jiganli two hours before sunset on Tuesday, and travelling six leagues during the night, halted at a large town called Selvistan, or the cypress plantation, on account of the number of these trees growing there, which, however, was formerly much greater. Without the town is the tomb of a certain Sheik, Isuf, held in veneration by the Mahometans, near which we pitched our tents. This town of Selvistan, and several others around, notwithstanding they be inclosed by the territories under the government of Imanculi Khan,



Khan, of Shiraz, are not dependent on him, but on Nadir Khan, who holds them directly from the King. About an hour before the fall of night we continued our way, travelling over very pleasant hillocks covered with those small trees called chaclacuchi by the Persians, and others of various kinds. Behind us we left a caravanferai at which caravans are wont to rest, when, solicitous of getting forward, journeying altogether five leagues and a half, and halting two hours before sunrise, reposing with our beasts under a large tree of chaclacuchi, in an open country inclosed by mountains, without any covering but the sky. We remained the whole of Thursday under this chaclacuchi, which was a male tree that did not produce fruit, but only large grains resembling those of the laurel, which grow, five or six in a groupe, on the edges of its leaves, vaulted, and curved like a bow; and in these grains small flies are engendered. In other respects, these chaclacuchi resemble the female trees, of which I have previously given you a description. Here I must observe, that there prevails universally in Persia a practice of distinguishing a difference of sex not only in trees and plants, as is the case in some instances with us, but also in every thing else, as well natural, such as vegetables, meat, fruit, and the like, as artificial, such as flax, silk, cotton, and even in the elements, as in water and air; calling male, as related by Seneca to have been usual with the Egyptians, that of its kind which is the strongest and most robust, and that on the contrary the most tender and delicate, the female; thus, according to their philosophy and observations, which are far from bad, they judge to what use each sex is adapted. For example, female water is better for drinking and more salubrious than male, being more delicate, and particularly so for persons of handsome complexion; of some animals, the flesh of the male is superior to that of the female for persons of a strong stomach, possessing more substance; and, on the contrary, that of the female for persons of weak habit, being most easy of digestion. Male air is fittest for the breathing of men of robust make, female air for children, and thus of other things. This I have deemed a matter curious enough to make public.

Thursday, two hours before night, we left our covert to travel in the dark, among hillocks covered with the same description of trees last-mentioned, and, after six leagues, arrived on the territory of the great Passa. Here we arrived at two o'clock in the morning, and trod upon the remains of the ancient Passagarda, which, according to Pliny and Quintus Curtius, was the place of sepulture of Cyrus the Great. On coming to this spot, on one side is an old cypress tree, the handsomest and largest I ever beheld, whose trunk alone, which spreads into various large branches, is of such prodigious size that five men together cannot clasp it, and whose branches spread from their trunk at least five-and-twenty of my feet. Its height is proportionate to its size, although it does not terminate in a point like the generality of cypresses. Its dimension is a proof of its antiquity, and the cause of the reverence shewn it by the Mahometans. From a small stem of one of its branches runs a certain fluid, which is a kind of gum that the Persians, particularly the ignorant among them, look upon as miraculous blood, seeing it exudes on every Friday, which with them is a holy and sacred day. And in a large hole in the middle of the trunk, capable of containing two persons, they are accustomed to light candles as in an august and venerable place, according to their usage of holding large and ancient trees in esteem, deeming them the retreat of the souls of the blest. On this account they call them *pir*, which signifies an old man in Persian, and in Arabic *sheik* or *iman*. This veneration of the Mahometans for large and ancient trees is, no doubt, a remnant of Paganism, as such were in high estimation among the Gentiles.

On the following day, upon advancing farther into the territory of Passagarda, I distinguished little remarkable but palm trees, which are not found in the other provinces of Persia. I saw, moreover, a great quantity of orange trees and double narcissi, which elsewhere would be esteemed a rarity in the month of October. We did not quit the territory of Passa till after the first hour of the night, and on leaving it came to two roads, one of them leading to Lar, which we left on the right, the other, which we took, towards the east. This being less frequented, we wandered from, regaining it with difficulty after a five leagues' ride, when we reached a town by day-light, called commonly by the people of the neighbourhood Timaristan or, for abbreviation's sake, Temistan; a little below which place we unloaded our baggage, as well to ease our animals as rest ourselves. Here our wheat bread became scarce, the inhabitants of the towns towards the sea using none but barley; advised of which, we had laid in a stock sufficient to last us at least for several days. Night beginning to diffuse its cool occasioned us to leave Temistan, to travel by rugged descents, which gave us a great deal of trouble, till more than three hours after sun-rise the next day, which was Sunday the 31st of October. In the night we had travelled eight leagues, and dismounted at a town, consisting of about thirty houses or huts, built in the midst of a large plantation of palm and date trees, and called Zizevan. An hour after sun-set we continued our journey for five leagues in the dark, passing through several hamlets with much inconvenience, on account of the rivulets full of water which crossed the road, without any bridges over them, and which our camels found great difficulty in fording. Passing through these hamlets we left behind us the city of Darabghierd, which still retains the name of Darius, who is the founder, and which is the chief residence of Shemseddin Khan, who is governor of several towns in the neighbourhood, which he holds direct of the King, as well as his command over a number of soldiers. He is called a cazaque. On Monday the 1st of November we halted at noon under some date trees, at the entrance of a large town called Dekair (that is to say, good town), the houses of which are not joined to each other, but separated by intervals, being mixed in a wood of palm trees, the fruit of which, with barley bread, serves as food for the inhabitants. In the evening a large company of ladies from the town, who had been into the country, according to the custom of the Mahometans, to pray at the tombs of their ancestors, came to our tents, where accidentally I was alone, entering them with great familiarity and without invitation, with their veils up and their face uncovered, which is very unusual among the Mahometans, eating with avidity of my wheaten bread, which to them was a delicacy, and conversing with much freedom. We remained here till the following Tuesday, not leaving the place till an hour before night-fall, receiving in course of the day a second visit from these ladies, for whom Madame Maani served up a collation which to them must have appeared both ample and superb; after which we travelled three leagues through a desert country, reaching by midnight the banks of a running stream, where we halted under an old wall in this vast solitude, called Moghokiel, and where at day-break I pitched my tents near a pond whence the rivulet flowed, and whither the cattle of the neighbourhood resort to drink. This place we left an hour and a half before sun-set, and after journeying three leagues rested at midnight under large giz trees, about which were a quantity of myrtles and running water, half a league before the sepulchre of their Imanzade, a little beyond. On Thursday, in the evening, we left this place, and travelled through a pass between low but very steep mountains, like walls on each side; at the entrance of which is a ruined castle, built for its defence at a time when the country was not under the domination of Persia, but that of a particular Prince, Khan of Lar, at whose decease the Sovereign of Persia made himself master



of his dominions, and destroyed the fortifications which guarded the pass. On Friday by day-break, after having journeyed five leagues, we reached a large town of two thousand houses, badly constructed, and confusedly built among palm trees called purg, but written furg, where we dismounted, and unloaded our camels in a convenient spot at a distance from the buildings. We resumed our journey an hour before sun-set, and after two leagues riding, being apprehensive of having missed our road, and fearful of losing ourselves in these deserts, we waited till the moon or day should light us on our way. It wanted but an hour to dawn when we recommenced our journey, at first by favour of the moon and afterwards the sun, travelling for five leagues through difficult passes, keeping the mountains on the left, which we had occasionally to ascend and at others to go down. In the morning we found ourselves in a very narrow pass; at length, towards evening, we reached a wood of palm trees in a valley at the foot of the mountains, in front of a town called Tascut or Tascivit. The moon rising about midnight, we continued our course for five leagues by a very even road, keeping almost always on our left this long chain of mountains, and another at a greater distance on our right, till we arrived at a small village of ten or a dozen houses, near which we halted about noon in a small wood of palm trees, to take repose under a large tree of a species I had not seen before, called by the Arabs, nebe, by the Persians, konar. It yields a small fruit with a kernel, resembling our cherries but ripening sooner, of a yellowish colour inclining to red, and of no unpleasant taste. It possesses, moreover, this property, that its leaves, reduced to powder and soaked in water, produce a lather, and serve instead of soap, and is the only thing used by the ladies of the country for washing their faces. We took with us a bag of it to shew in Italy, as it will keep any length of time. After minutely examining the fruit and leaves of the tree, I recollected that in a handsome and large vineyard belonging to my uncles, the Alberini, at Rome, there are two large trees by the side of a fountain, of the same species, which constantly preserve their verdure, and are the only ones of their kind at Rome. The little village of Seid Gender, where we took up our abode, is dependent on the large town of Tarom, called by some a city, on account of its being the chief of several neighbouring towns, although at present in a very ruinous state. We did not choose, for reasons that we had, to go thither ourselves, but sent our people for provisions; who brought us back intelligence that the Portuguese had put to death a great number of Kizilbashi, and set many places on fire belonging to the Persians on the sea shore. The inhabitants of Tarom did not appear to be very sorry for this, on account of having been vassals and much attached to the deceased Prince of Lar, now ill treated by the Kizilbashi, and never well inclined to the King of Persia or his empire. This rupture, which was the beginning of open war between the Persians and Portuguese, was not very agreeable to me on account of the obstacles I foresaw it would throw in the way of my travels. The whole country about Tarom, as well as its proper territory, is entirely covered with palm trees, under which, as well as through the remainder of the country, they sow an abundance of cotton as well as other seed. As for wheaten flour, it is not to be met with, except in large towns, where it is eaten by the rich alone; the chief food of the inhabitants being dates, in which article they carry on a considerable trade. The chief part of the population is very poor and wretched. Here, for the first time, I noticed the shoes or rather sandals worn by the people being made of woven palm leaves, of which the sole is made tolerably thick, the upper part consisting only of two strings interwoven with similar leaves, which clasp the foot pretty tight, and join in the middle towards the point, which they pass between the great toe, and thus keep the sandal firm on the foot. Among the villages on the sea side this sort of sandal is in general use. A pair of them I have bought



to shew as a curiosity in Italy. I made, likewise, another observation, which was, that the dress of these villagers, except the hair of the head, which, as with all Mahometans, is shorn and covered with a small turban or one of their little pointed caps, perfectly resembles that of the figures of low condition which I had noticed at Chehil-minar.

To continue the course of our journey : as we arrived rather late on Sunday the 7th of November at our halting place, we did not leave Seid Geuder the next day, on account of the heat becoming so extreme, that notwithstanding it was one of the coldest months of the year, for coolness sake I stripped to my shirt, as I had been accustomed to do in Ispahan in the midst of summer. The nights, indeed, were somewhat cool, and shewed us the difference of the season. From this stage we did not set out till Monday at midnight, and in the interval sent to Tarom for barley-meal and chopped straw for our camels, which unlike those of the Arabs require substantial food, and are not satisfied with grass ; we likewise furnished ourselves with other provisions which might be requisite on our journey, with which we traversed a large plain from one extremity to the other ; and after passing a small river which crosses the road, the water of which is saltish, and which, on that account, has obtained the appellation of Abshur, or salt water, we reached on the following Tuesday two or three hours before noon a small hamlet of ten or twelve houses, well shaded with trees, called Pelengon, that is to say, the panthers, possibly from those animals being found in its neighbourhood. Besides the giez, which I had frequently seen in other places, I remarked among those trees a plant unknown to me, called by the natives charg. It is a shrub which grows to a great height, and from the root throws out around several small branches, or rather sucklers, covered with large thick oval leaves, cottony, and full of a kind of milk, as is the whole of the plant ; which milk is of such a malign nature, according to the relations of the people of the country, as to blind upon its being rubbed on the eyes. Its leaves grow in pairs, one opposite to the other, in such quantity that the whole branch is covered with them to its tip, in squares, and pointing four different ways. At the extremity of these small branches grows a handsome cluster of flowers of a white colour, duskyish without, and within of a reddish violet, resembling the columbine. This shrub produces no fruit fit to eat ; I am, however, inclined to believe it possesses medical virtues, as the people of the country apply the leaves with success to bruises. They likewise eat a small seed growing in the middle of the flower, and possessing the quality of the poppy, which they have been for some time accustomed to eat daily, in common with most of the Persians, in such quantity that it is surprising it should not kill them, some eating as much opium as would equal a walnut in size. They are of opinion that it is good for their health, and relieves the spirits, making them forget all care ; this it actually does, seeing it possesses a great stupifying quality. However, they are so greatly addicted to the use of it, that it cannot be dispensed with ; it being to them the greatest punishment to be obliged to abstain from it a single day. Those who endeavour to break themselves of the use of it, cannot do this but by taking in its stead an immoderate quantity of wine or other intoxicating liquors, and even then feel themselves uneasy without it. In the town of Gelen-gon, we found a rabdari, or keeper of the highroads. He was captain of a company whose rendezvous was at another place, two leagues beyond. He examined our baggage, but in the most obliging manner possible, not opening our trunks or packages, and was satisfied with a small tax, which was his due, amounting to four abbasins, equal to four Roman testoons. For this small tribute he not only let us pass, but moreover sent a man forward to escort us part of the way, and direct us on our road. In this you have an instance of the lightness of the taxes in Persia ; in recompence and for this trifling exaction, also, they are obliged to keep the way free from thieves, and, if any thing be lost or stolen,



stolen, are obliged to make it good to the owner out of their own purse. When we began our journey night had already set in two hours, and we had gone two leagues when we reached the office of the rabdari; when, as the moon was not yet risen, and our road, which laid through the mountains, was difficult and unpleasant, we halted at the entrance of this pass, at a spot called Dertenghi-chebar-rud, or the narrow gate of the four rivers, on account of its being the passage in time of rains through which four torrents, which gush from various parts of the mountains, discharge their waters. When we passed it was only a small rivulet, which is never dry. This name of Derteng, or narrow gate, is common in Persia to other similar passages between mountains. One, among others, I saw on the confines of Persia, on the great road from Bagdad, of the same name; the Persians thus imitating the Latins, who, with the same meaning, give similar names, such as the *Portæ Caspiæ*, *Portæ Caucasæ*, *Portæ Ciliciæ*, &c. When we entered this narrow pass, in the bed of one of the torrents, we had two hours of daylight before us, and kept the river continually on our right till we arrived at a small rivulet of salt water, which we found running by the side of the bed of the torrent between the mountains, and on its banks a number of plants with long narrow leaves, the fruit or seed of which grows in a pod of some length, almost like that of the cassia, but not so thick. The people of the neighbourhood maintain that this plant is venomous; in Persia it is called *char zabrè*, or asses' poison; possibly it is the same with the oleander, so common with us: as, however, I am a novice in botany, I cannot judge in this instance any more than in that of various other plants and shrubs which I saw without knowing what they were. At length, after travelling no more than two leagues, the sun having nearly reached its meridian, we found the heat so excessive that it obliged us to halt on a spot where travellers are used to stop, under the shade of a large giez tree, called *giez mir azard*, on account of *Mir Azard*, a notorious robber, having been slain here. An hour before night-fall we continued our journey, travelling throughout the night by a bad road and difficult passes, still among the mountains and in the bed of the torrent. On Thursday by an hour after day, having journeyed four leagues, we rested at the side of a pond banked in, which the people of the country keep as a reservoir for the supply of the neighbourhood, as far as to a town pretty distant, called *Guhnè*, where I remarked another tree covered with thorns, which bears no fruit but only leaves, which are eaten by cattle; it is called by the inhabitants *kahur*. I took it for an acacia, such as I had seen in Arabia Petrea, which yields the gum arabic, although when I saw that in Arabia its leaves were much smaller than those of this tree. The Persians are at no pains in collecting the gum of the *kahur*, possibly from their ignorance of its value. At night fall we recommenced our course, and after three or four leagues over an even and pleasant road between the mountains rested two hours before day under a tree, near some saltish water, the only which we could obtain that was good in a place called *Curi-hazi-gon*, or the merchants' tomb. A little after sunset we remounted our camels, and after travelling about four leagues on a road not so agreeable as the last, yet not very bad, still among the mountains, we came to a wood of palm trees, where were some huts which people inhabit at the time of gathering the fruit, a little before dawn on Saturday. Here we met with a spring of fresh water. The name of the place is *Ser Zebi-rizevon*. At sunset we left this place, after regaling and fully satisfying some other rabdaris who dwell here. The following Sunday, after travelling four leagues by a much less tiresome road than the preceding, although not very excellent, we dismounted an hour before day light at a spot which is one of the quarters of some rabdaris belonging to the band we met with the day before. We shewed them a paper signed by their comrades, with which they were content; and as this



place was inhabited by rabdaris alone, and afforded neither convenience for sleeping nor provisions, we travelled two leagues farther on, by a level road, keeping constantly the mountains in sight on both sides of us, and after six leagues travelling, three hours after sunrise in the morning, we rested ourselves on the banks of a stream of fresh water, called Abi Dunger, the extremity of the principality of Lar, and the frontiers of the country which belonged to the King of Ormus, before his country was wrested from him. On the sun setting we resumed our journey, and shortly came to a small river of salt water, called by the villagers in their language Rud Shind, or the salt rivulet. After passing this rivulet we continued our road to the first town, called Chuchiulion, which we entered on Monday, the 15th of November. This is a town consisting of more than forty houses, away from each other in a wood of palm and other trees. This town is the first of the province of Moghistan, or the country of palms. Here the heat is so great that, notwithstanding it be the middle of November, I sleep in the open air without any canopy whatsoever, and in my shirt, without suffering any inconvenience from this indulgence. I see little boys, the children of the poor, run about at this season entirely naked, save a band of linen to conceal their distinction of sex; and those even in superior circumstances wear simply the lightest dress imaginable; the women, in general, wear only a shift, which covers half the arms and the body to the waist, and from the waist downwards wrap themselves round with a large piece of silk or cotton of different colours, which breadthwise reaches to the feet, and is long enough to wrap round the body twice, but altogether is not of more consistence than a petticoat. On their feet they wear sandals of plantain leaves, but no stockings. Their head-dress is a piece of silk or cloth, similar to that worn round the lower part of their body but smaller, which, thrown over the head, hangs down in part on the shoulders behind, and falls over the face after the manner of the Persians. On their arms they wear a number of bracelets from the wrist to the elbows, which are not covered by the sleeves of the shift, and similar ornaments round their legs. These are made of different metals; straw which looks like gold, amber, crystal, and the like, and are composed of small round flat pieces joined together. All of them, likewise, the rich as well as the poor, wear pendant from the nose, not large rings as is common with the Arabs, nor small neat ones on the side, as is usual with the Persians, but a piece of gold, either plain, enamelled, or set with precious stones, of a rhomboidal figure, rather narrow, and somewhat less long than their nose, which hangs somewhat on one side. Owing to the excessive heat of the sun the people are of an extreme dark complexion, but have very regular features, and are well made. We had intention of embarking secretly at Benderi-deser, but we learnt that the Portuguese had landed there and destroyed the place, so that we gave up all hope of reaching Ormuz, from that port particularly, as the Khan had prohibited all intercourse between the shore and the island; that in consequence all the craft had been drawn on the strand, and that military were stationed at all the places whither vessels were accustomed to resort, to prevent their landing. The intelligence which we received at Chuchiulion determined our waiting there for an opportunity of taking water unperceived. The chief of the town informed us, that barks frequently came to different spots which were not guarded, to procure provender for their camels, and that our only means of getting away would be by one of these; we in consequence promised him a handsome reward if he would assist us, which induced him to send his brother and another person to watch for any boat which might arrive; for, notwithstanding the interdict of the King, the inhabitants of this part, who carry on a considerable traffic with those of Ormuz, beneficial to each, still maintain correspondence. Two persons were deputed on this errand, in case of finding a bark that one might



might remain, while the other should return to us with advice of where it was. On the 16th of November these two men departed at night, and we remained at Chuchiululion, retaining the camels we had hired.

In the mean time we swam in joy; Madame Maani, who passionately desired to have a child, communicated to me the pleasing intelligence of her being pregnant, and fancy pictured the happiness I should find when, after terminating my travels, I should at length reach Italy and home. Our joy, however, was somewhat damped upon the return of our messengers with an account that there was no likelihood of any more boats venturing on shore.

We waited yet some time at Chuchiululion, till apprehensive of causing uneasiness to the chief of the town, and understanding that the Sheheriari, which is the title of the governor of Moghistan, dependent on the Khan of Shiraz, was every day expected to pass, from whom I might meet with impediment, I resolved on leaving that town and retiring to a place of safety, in case of the passage being stopped. Hearing, therefore, that the English caravan with silk had taken refuge in Mina, the capital of Moghistan, not to be exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese by their venturing unprotected near the coast, we bent our way thither. After travelling five leagues on the road we came to a village of huts, built among palm-trees, called Duzrach, where we arrived in the morning two or three hours before day, leaving it again an hour before night-fall; and on Friday the 3d of December, having journeyed four leagues, we reached the small fortress of Mina, built on a hill, under which is a village of huts in a wood of palms, where we unloaded our camels, and took repose beneath the trees, waiting for sunrise, to seek where the English were lodged.

At break of day we learned that these gentlemen were lodged in a large house in the neighbourhood, which had a garden attached to it, and was the palace of the Khan of Shiraz. We sent thither to enquire for their interpreter Jacob, who formerly lived with me, and who acquainting the English with our arrival, they deputed to me Mr. Robert Gifford, an old friend of mine, and a Catholic, with offers of service from their chief, prevented by indisposition from waiting on me himself. He informed me at the same time, that all hope of passing to Ormuz through their means was vain, as the orders of the King were so strict that a bird was not suffered to go thither, much less a boat; that, however, if I chose to wait till the termination of the investiture of Ormuz by its capitulation, or a peace, which might soon follow the arrival of the English ships of war, then expected, they would use all their influence in getting me a passage to some port of Arabia; if not direct to the settlements of the Portuguese, at least to those of their neighbours and friends: and that finally, as a last resource, they would take me to Surat in India, whence I might either proceed with them to England, or travel thence by land to Goa. Seeing no remedy, therefore, I was constrained to abide at Mina, where, with permission from the English, in order to be more comfortable, I built myself a large house, after the manner of the country, of branches of palm interwoven, as our small tents were not proof against the rain, which fell unexpectedly on the two preceding nights, and in such abundance as to wet every thing beneath them, and oblige Madame Maani to fly in her shift for shelter to the litter. My house, which in that country was a capital one, was completed in a day, and cost, materials and labour together, no more than thirty shahi, or a sequin and a half (15s. sterling). On the 16th December I took the latitude of Mina, which I found to be  $26^{\circ} 35' N$ .

We suffered all of us from the bad air of Mina, and Madame Maani, being attacked by a fever, was prematurely delivered of a dead child, to our great affliction. Her

he paid the debt of nature, on the 30th December. Picture to yourself my sufferings on the occasion; the anguish of my mind increased the illness which consumed me daily, and finding ourselves so unpleasantly situated here, as much from the malignity of the climate as the total absence of all comforts and even of many necessities, we resolved on removing to Lār, notwithstanding it was some days' journey distant; and having had the body of my much lamented wife embalmed, I intended it to be entombed where, when it may please God to take me, my bones shall be laid, I obtained permission from the governor of the province to transport it wherever I might choose to go. The first and second day after our departure we encamped in a desert country, as our guides would not take the nearest way by the sea-side, that they might avoid the bad and marshy roads they would otherwise have to pass, by which we came; but after crossing the Mina river, they stretched away from the sea, lengthening our journey one day by this circuit. On the third we arrived at Chuchululion. Thence, taking a different road to that by which we first arrived there, the fourth day we reached Issin; the fifth, after crossing a salt river, Kushiār; the sixth, Kahuristan, called so from the profusion of kahur, or acacia-trees growing about it; here, on account of the violence of my fever, we halted two days; on the eighth we arrived at a caravanferai, called Guri bizirgon, or the merchant's tomb, in the neighbourhood of that at which we lodged on coming; on the ninth, after taking another road, we rested at a caravanferai, called Tenghi dalan, in a flat country; the tenth at Chormud; the eleventh at a caravanferai, called Boadini; the twelfth at another, called Basili, or Vasili; and on the thirteenth, which was the 30th of January, arrived at Lar. For my part, on reaching Lar, I was more dead than alive; my servants, however, were recovered by the change of air. At Lar I was placed under the care of an admirable physician, who shortly dismissed my fever, and with his medicines and diet recruited my strength.

The physician who prescribed for me, whose reputation was great, perceiving by the conversation we had together that I was not an ignorant man, made a favourable report of me to several men of letters with whom he was intimate, and who ranked high in this city. Being a quiet place without any court, its inhabitants void of ambition, undistracted by commerce, and not alarmed by the din of war, or pestered with military, are, as a consequence, prone to literature; and to such a degree that I can truly affirm, in no place whatsoever in Asia where I have been, nay, I may say in the world, have I met with individuals so learned and deep read in science as those of Lar. My acquaintance was much sought after, and much courtesy was shewn me by them, as well during my illness as after my recovery.

About the 20th of February I left my bed, but still was so weak that I could not walk across my chamber without the assistance of a stick. At this period there fell a little rain, the only time it had rained throughout the year; whence you may judge of the temperature of this climate.

The city of Lar is the capital of a great province, or kingdom, formerly possessed by a sovereign who made himself independent, either justly or unjustly, till Abbas the reigning Shah made war against him, about three-and-twenty years ago, rather from the pride of conquest than cupidity; and, after dethroning the Prince, carried him away prisoner to court, whence, after some slight reproaches, he sent him back to Shiraz, to the Khan of the province, who had had the management of the war. This unfortunate Prince died on his way thither. Since that period this country has become united to the empire of Persia. Lar is at present the residence of a Sultan, dependent on the Khan of Shiraz. The palace of Ibrahim Khan, who was formerly the sovereign



of this state, is at      unoccupied, being reserved for the Khan of Shiraz on his occasional excursions hither; it has a square in front of proportionate size. The bazar begins at the extremity of the square opposite to the palace, and is extremely long, extending in a right line; is well built, arched over, ~~or~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~immense~~ height, well proportioned, airy, and light. In the middle of the street is a dome, opposite to which two other streets diverge, which make part of the bazar, forming a cross. Beyond the market, at the end of this large street, on the right hand, at one of the extremities of the city, I saw a castle built on an eminence, which projects some distance into the plain, on each side surrounded by walls alone, and of little consideration.

On the 7th of March I took the latitude, which I found to be  $27^{\circ} 17'$  N.; a great mathematician of this city, however, informed me, that the latitude was  $27\frac{1}{2}$ , so that possibly my observation was not sufficiently exact. I noticed, that the greatest cold experienced here also is at the beginning of March; it is, however, very tolerable, and lasts for so short a time, that before the conclusion of the month the city is scarcely habitable, on account of swarms of flies. At this period also orange-flowers, jasmine, and roses make their appearance, and barley shews itself in the ear. Water is very scarce in this city, the only obtainable being rain-water; which, as it does not rain in this part sometimes for years together, the inhabitants preserve when it falls in immense reservoirs, capable of containing sufficient for several years duration. On the 21st of March, the festival of Neurouz, or New Year's Day, I noticed that a number of shops were shut, as well on that as for several succeeding days; upon enquiry, I found that none were allowed to exercise their calling until they had first made their gift to the new governor, and obtained permission. Upon this being obtained, one of each trade parades the streets, accompanied by fifes or flutes in token of joy. I saw a butcher, before whom certain people carried on their heads whole sheep ready cooked, and covered with laurel. This custom of baking whole animals at once is common in this country, and on some occasions they bake one within another; for example, a capon in a sheep, a fowl within a capon, and within the fowl again a smaller bird: such a dish is called perian. This practice is very ancient, Herodotus mentioning it to have been practised in his time. The people here are grievously burthened with taxes, and in consequence hold the King and the Kizilbashi in utter abhorrence.

At a feast, to which I was invited by the Cady Rokneddin, I saw a species of orange, which I had never before beheld either in Asia or in Europe. These oranges are large and handsome, of a flame-colour externally, and deliciously sweet; what, however, is most remarkable about them is their rind, much thicker than that of oranges in general, which is very tender, and is better eating even than the inside itself, being of a very pleasant spicy flavour. I have preserved some of the seed of them, as well as of sweet lemons, but doubt whether they may keep to Italy.

On Wednesday, 8th of June, I left Lar in the night, on account of the extreme heat of the weather not admitting of our travelling by day; and, after traversing a mountain difficult to pass, halted in the morning near a town called Kurdeh, on the margin of one of the large reservoirs which they are accustomed to make in this country. The fields, on account of want of water, although they had been, were not at present in a state of culture. The wind which blew was so hot and burning, that it left traces of its course. On account of the violent heat having pulled off my trowsers, my legs thus being bare became instantly red and inflamed, and caused me to experience so much pain that I was unable to put my feet to the ground, although at the same time it was venomous the wind felt refreshing. My servants experienced similar effects from its influence with myself. The Persian almanacs distinctly point out the time of its prevalence,

hence, and call it bad saman, or the poisonous wind. Its baneful consequences, however, are confined to the more southern provinces. An hour after sunset we continued our journey two leagues, as far as to a caravanserai in the neighbourhood of a town called Bir. We were constrained to make very short stages on account of the dearth of water through the country, none being to be found except rain-water preserved in cisterns. The next night, after riding two leagues, we stopt in a narrow valley between some low mountains, where was a cistern, the place was called Ghielu Ghiendè. Saturday night we travelled three leagues, and reached a place called Jezdchest, inhabited by people who live in black tents like the Arabs, changing their quarters in search of herbage, but never removing from a space comprized within a square of two leagues. These people are Persians, and our guides, whose tents were pointed out to us with those of the rest, formed part of their number. At night-fall, continuing our way, we encamped on Monday morning in a desert country, by the side of a pond, near certain sepulchres, which shewed the place to have been formerly inhabited; after passing the day here under our tents we departed in the evening, and travelled an equal distance with what we had done the night before, that is to say, four leagues; stopping at a place called Beni Miri. The following evening we journied on four more leagues, resting at a small walled town called Nesirabad; the next day with difficulty, owing to our camels being weak from want of their accustomed barley and bran, we reached a town called Charcuon, belonging to the Begum, or great Queen, and consequently independent of the Khan of Shiraz, notwithstanding it laid within his district. Here we discharged our camels, entirely exhausted. Thursday night we left Charcuon early, but did not arrive at Passa till very late, owing to our guides having missed the way. On our arrival at Passa I rested beneath the same tall cypress I had done in coming, but not with equal comfort; I had lost what made the desert cheerful; my Maani was no more. Looking over some garden walls, I perceived, basking in the sun, an extraordinary number of tarantula, or lizards, four times as large at least as the largest I had ever seen in our country.

On Sunday, 29th of June, a little before dawn, somewhat fatigued from having travelled five leagues the preceding night, we rested in one of the small towns within the jurisdiction of Selvislan, called Hasan Havask, or of good air. Beginning again our course at night we made six leagues, and halted among the Turkmans of Giganli, near the spot where we pitched our tents before. The next night, four leagues brought us to the bridge of Passa; and thence two or three leagues more to Shiraz, where we arrived on Wednesday, 22d of June. I did not choose, however, to enter the city, but turning a little out of the high road into that which leads to Hispahan, I dismounted near the mosque of the calantar under the trees by the water side.

On the 1st of July, I rambled a short distance from where we took up our abode, to see the tomb of Kogia Hafiz, an illustrious poet of Persia, whose odes are in great celebrity. In a tolerably spacious garden, ornamented by several works of architecture, the chief which presented itself resembled a small chapel with a dome; within this place this exquisite poet is entombed. The sepulchre is large, and engraved all over from the top to the bottom with various characters, and is loaded with epitaphs even about the base. The front is taken up with a most excellent epigram on his name. On one side of this sepulchre are others of two disciples of Hafiz, and on the other, that of a certain Seid, whose name I have forgotten. The whole of the exterior court is full of similar tombs of less repute; however the whole edifice was built in honour of the poet, and is called by the Mahometans Ziara. Such in Persia is the estimation in which men



of letters are held. Near where he is entombed, his book is preserved as a monument of his mind, which is called the Divan, and is written in letters of gold. It is not, however, that which was written by himself, and which formerly was preserved here; the King having caused that to be removed into his own library. I visited here likewise the tomb of Sheik Saadi, another famous poet, who besides a Divan, or collection of poetry, wrote the Gulistan, and the Bostan.

Many happy days and years to Signior Marius! Long may he live for himself, and for the public; and with him all our common friends, whom I salute affectionately.

## LETTER XVII.

*Combru.*

THE last I wrote to you was from the gardens of Shiraz, on my way to Hispahan, for the purpose of taking my departure thence to Europe by the way of the desert and Turkey; I have been prevented, however, from pursuing this plan, owing to the impossibility of my meeting with camels for my baggage, owing to their being all employed in transporting the booty made at Ormuz; I, therefore, waited at Shiraz until by a courier I understood that the English were about to embark for Surat with their filk. Having therefore so good an opportunity of visiting India, I abandoned my first project of travelling through Turkey to Europe, as being replete with inconvenience and danger, and resolved on visiting the sea-shore a third time from Shiraz. I believe I omitted to state to you before that the Shiites, contrary to the opinion of the Turks and the Sonnites, hold it lawful to marry for a limited time; at the expiration of which the parties are free to separate, or, if satisfied with each other, may contract a lasting marriage. Such females as thus have married for a time and separated are not, on that account, the less esteemed. Most of the marriages at Shiraz are after this manner; and such is said to be the disposition for changing of the women of this city, that a curious tale is related, which is constantly in every one's mouth; of two women who were intimate friends meeting together, one asked the other how long she had lived with her present husband, and being answered two months; "Poor creature," said the first; "and how is it possible you could endure one man so long!"

On the 20th of August Shiraz was in a tumult of joy, upon the news arriving of the Shah having made conquest of the city and province of Canduhar. It seems it capitulated subsequent to the garrison, and the chief of its inhabitants having abandoned it with their property.

On the 26th of August I left Shiraz for the sea-shore, intending to pass by Darabghierd, which I had not yet seen; and continued the same road we had travelled before as far as to Zirevan, arriving there on the 5th of September. On the evening of that day we took the road leading through Darabghierd, leaving that which led through Deh Chair, by which we passed the year before, and arrived there by day-break, having travelled four leagues. All I can tell you of Darabghierd is, that, from the form of its habitations, and a number of palm-trees growing in the place, it has more the appearance of a borough than a city, nothing but its great extent and its numerous population giving it a superiority over the neighbouring towns. It has only one remarkable beauty, which is a stream running through the great square and market place, in the former of which it traverses a small basin of water of a round form. The meaning of its name, Darabghierd is, Darius enclosed it with walls (*cinxit Darius*). The day of  
our

Our arrival was spent in receiving visits ; and upon the approach of night we mounted our camels, and arrived on Thursday at the peach-garden of Moghòkiel ; and on Friday at the mosque of the tomb of an Imanzadi. On Saturday we halted under the palm-trees of the village of Furg, and rested on successive nights at the town of Taskvie, Seid Geuder, where we stopped all Tuesday, Peturgen, Dertenghi chehar rud, Guhnè, Guri Bazirgon, and thence at Serzehi rizevon, where we found no inhabitant, every one having fled from fear of the soldiers, who in this quarter conducted themselves very indifferently to what they are used when under command of the Shah. Here we quitted the road of Abibungher, and took that which runs south to Combru ; we passed in the night through a town called Chah Chakor without halting, making five leagues from our place of departure, at the end of which we encamped under the shade of the luli dagheli, a tree whose branches hanging to the ground take root and produce a new tree, and this so repeatedly as to form a forest of arches, sufficient in some instances to shelter an immense number of people. Its leaves are thick, oval, somewhat resembling those of the quince, but much thicker and larger. Its fruit is very small, of a greyish scarlet colour, but when quite ripe inclining to black ; the wood of it is extremely light.

In the evening we left this natural house, and arrived at Combru two hours before day-light, on the 21st of September. This place is large, spacious and well peopled on the sea-shore, and having now changed its master, has likewise changed its name, being now called Port Abassi. In this city people of whatsoever religion they may be or country, who resort hither to trade, are welcome, and have the free exercise of their religion. We lodged here in the house of a Jew, in which we met with every convenience and accommodation as well in board as lodging.

While remaining at Combru for the arrival of the English, on the 4th of October the city experienced four or five dreadful shocks of an earthquake, which were repeated the succeeding night so violently as to throw down several houses, with one of the towers of the fortrefs.

I send you this by Mr. George Strachan ; who for benefit of his health, affected by his residence at Mina, is about to go home to Lar, and afterwards to Hispahan. Mentioning Lar, I have to observe to you, that the coins of that province being of pure metal, difficult to counterfeit, and taken by weight, pass currently all over the East. I salute you and all my friends ; to whom I beseech you to make my respects.

The author remained at Combru till the 15th of January 1623, when he left Persia, embarking on board the Whale, an English ship bound for Surat.



## AN ACCOUNT OF GEORGIA.

Presented to His Holiness Pope Urban VIII. by Pietro delle Valle in 1627.

THE country at present called Georgia comprehends all that known to the ancients under the names of Colchis and Iberia, with part of Armenia, and possibly of Albania. This tract, according to Strabo, includes the country of the Muscovites, for it extends in length from the most eastern extremity of the Black sea, where it begins, to the Caspian; it has towards the east only a small maritime district of Albania, belonging at this time to the King of Persia; in which are situated the cities of Backu and Derbent, called by the Turks, Domircapi (Iron-gate), and descending a little towards the South, a small portion of Shirwan, the capital of which is Schamachi, apparently a part of the ancient Media Atropatenis. A little towards the west Georgia is bounded by the Black sea. North of it are the Caspian mountains, branching from mount Caucasus and stretching from one sea to the other, inhabited at this time by certain barbarians and thieves, called Lezghi, chiefly Mahometans, and some very possibly still idolaters or atheists. It is not improbable they may be the Soani or Phthirophages mentioned by Strabo. Finally, towards the south it has for boundary that part of Armenia bordering on Media, and lower down on the most western side, towards Trebisond, if I mistake not, some part of Cappadocia.

The whole of this country, throughout which the same language is common to all the inhabitants, was governed formerly according to their account by one King, until he divided his dominions among his four children, all of whom he made sovereign Princes. With the eldest, however, to whom he gave the middle and better portion of the division, he left a certain pre-eminence above the others, whence this Prince is even now respected by all the rest, is considered as the elder branch, and is honoured by the title of Mepet Mepè (King of Kings), the other princes taking the style of Princes of Georgia only.

The number of Princes at this time is six; for in addition to the four of royal blood before mentioned, there are two others, who were chief ministers of the Mepet Mepè, and governors of two considerable portions of his dominions on the Black Sea, who revolting, seized upon and made themselves absolute lords of the provinces they governed. Acquiring in process of time, authority and reputation, they not only rose to an equality, but formed an alliance with the others. At present they are all upon an equal footing, and frequently intermarry; remembrance is however yet kept up of the distinction of the Mepet Mepè, for when he mounts his horse, the two princes formerly his vassals and ministers, when by, are wont to hold the one the bridle the other the stirrup as an acknowledgement of his sovereignty. As to the division of the country since its partition into six distinct Sovereignties, the Mepet Mepè is lord of a dominion in the centre of Georgia, called in the language of the country Imeriti, the innermost, the strongest part of the whole, and undoubtedly the Iberia of the ancients. The name of the reigning Prince of this part is Ghiorghì or George; on addressing him, for shortness sake, he is not called Mepet Mepè, the only name he signs, but Ghiorgi Mepè or King George. The Turks, however, for what reason I am ignorant, call not only the country but the ruling prince Bâsh-yachivi, or bareheaded.

Eastward

Eastward of this state is another province called Kacheti, which, if I mistake not, forms a part of the ancient Iberia, and probably of Albania. This is the dominion of a Prince descended from the youngest of the four brothers of the blood royal; his residence is the city of Zagain. These princes, however, as well as the gentry of the country (for, unlike the usual custom of the east, the Georgians are distinguished by an hereditary nobility, and intermarry only according to rank as in Europe), these princes, I say, as well as the gentry called Asnaures reside chiefly in and prefer the country, looking upon towns as suitable only to people following trades and commerce, which they consider beneath them; and so powerfully does this sentiment prevail among the Georgians, such even as are not Asnaures, provided they be able to subsist otherwise, disdain to live in towns, and despise all handicrafts and trade, leaving the exercise of these to foreigners, such as Armenians, and Jews, the number of whom in the country is very considerable, and others of similar activity.

As for them their chief occupation is arms, the ecclesiastical profession, which, however few among them follow, or, in which many are employed, the culture of their own estates, which are extremely productive not only of fruits of all description, but also of silk which they collect in quantities. Most of the inhabitants possess some portion of land, and so many being employed in the field was the cause why they were termed Georgians by the ancient Greeks (*Γεωργοι*), or husbandmen. From this propensity of its inhabitants, the towns in this country are few in number and inconsiderable, but the fields are well populated in every part, and covered with good houses, although principally of wood. They have, moreover, a number of chambers, well constructed in themselves, but commonly in but indifferent repair.

The Prince who formerly reigned over this province of Kucheti is still living, but deprived of his dominions, as I shall hereafter relate, and is called Teimuraz: Abbas, the present King of Persia, was friendly disposed towards this prince, and on his wife dying sent to him father John Thaddeus de St. Elizée, a barefooted Carmelite, at present in Persia, and at that time chief of the mission, with compliments of condolance. Prince Teimuraz, who is of the Romish communion, on that account, as well as from his being sent by King Abbas, shewed him great civility, and was extremely affable to him; causing him to celebrate mass in his principal church in presence of the metropolitan, and intended himself to have been there on the occasion, but by some means was prevented. He offered him also territory for the establishment of a convent of his order, and to build a church upon in short, the Prince himself as well as the metropolitan, whose name was Allah Verdi, a prudent man, and well affected to the Holy See, exhibited an extreme attachment and respect towards the Romish church.

Of the two Princes descended from the two other brothers of the blood royal, the one is Sovereign of a dominion south of Kacheti and Imiretti. The name of the country is Cardel or Carduel. It forms part of the greater Armenia, the name of its capital Teflis. It formerly was subject, (and even in the memory of our fathers) to Prince Simon, who died afterwards in prison at Constantinople, famous in history for the wars he waged against the Turks. This Prince, from the letters written by him to Paul III. of happy memory, if those letters were truly of his writing, as I believe them to have been, was evidently well affected towards the Holy See. One of these letters, together with the note previously addressed by that Sovereign Pontiff to the Prince, is inserted in a book published by Thomas de Jesus, a barefooted Carmelite, and entitled *de procurandâ salute omnium gentium*.

Latterly, this state was governed by Luarfab, a young Prince of great promise, the



a wretched end, being put to death in prison, where he had been confined for several years, without leaving any issue, not having consummated with the bride to which he had been betrothed. His principality came afterwards under the dominion of another Prince of his house, his nephew, or cousin, but a Mahometan, and not as an absolute Sovereign, but in vassalage under the King of Persia, as I shall describe.

The other Prince descended from the blood royal, held dominion over a country westward, comprizing a part of Carduel: it bordered upon Armenia, Cappadocia, and the frontiers of Media. At present, this state no longer exists, as will appear.

The two last Princes descended from the ministers of whom I have spoken, and not from the ancient Kings, possess dominions situated on the Euxine or Black sea. The one towards the north is master of the country which lays between the Caspian mountains and those of Dadian, (a word importing vagabond, from the way of life anciently followed by its inhabitants, resembling that of the Arabs), but of late years, since this custom has been changed, the country is one of the finest and best cultivated in Georgia.

This province, the ancient Colchis, is called by the Turks, Mingrelia. The Prince which reigns over it at present is young, his name to the best of my recollection, Levan. In 1615, a Jesuit from the establishment at Constantinople, who visited the Christians of this country to inform himself of their disposition, returned while I was yet at Constantinople. I was with him without other company for three or four days, he being taken ill on his return of a contagious disorder which reigned in that city. The good father related to me that he had seen this young Prince, at that time, but twelve years of age; that the mother, who lived in a coarse, rustic manner, governed during his minority; that he had inducted the Prince into the church, to offer up the head of a wild boar which he had killed; that the Prince had loaded him with kindness and shewed great attachment to him, but that for want of knowing the language of the country, and of any who could interpret for them, they were at a loss to understand each other, and incapable of treating on any matters. Nothing beyond has transpired of the journey of this Jesuit, either owing to his dying of the plague, or his papers being lost in a tempest at sea. But I hope that his brethren at Constantinople, as they are so contiguous to this state, that a voyage thither may be effected in a week, or even in less time in case of favourable weather, will not have given up the mission; possibly, indeed, they may already have either deputed missionaries, or be on the eve of sending some.

South of Mingrelia on the Black sea, and bordering on Cappadocia and Trebisond, reigns the remaining Prince not descended from the ancient Kings. This state called Gurjel, is in my esteem either a part of Cappadocia or Colchis. The Prince's name I think, is Jese. Of his family, I believe, is the Metropolitan now at the head of the whole of the Georgian church not subject to the King of Persia. Over that part dependent on the latter which lays more towards the east, there is another primate nominated by that Sovereign. The last succeeded to that Allah Verdi, whom I before have mentioned; and was living while I was in Persia. A different one called likewise Allah Verdi, (if that name be not rather an appendage to the person holding the primacy), had a sister, at present in existence in Persia, whither she was transported together with numbers of her nation on occasion of that famous transmigration of the Georgians, on which I shall touch as I proceed. This lady married the son of a sister of the old Allah Verdi deceased. She has two sisters, one of which was gossip with me, I having stood as sponsor for three of her sons brought thither on the migration from Georgia. They are at present living in Hispahan, where they have resided a number of years in a very wretched manner, as I was witness to, suffering every privation rather than apostatize,

the King refusing them any allowance, but upon condition of their changing their religion. They supported their misery with great patience, notwithstanding they had been educated in Georgia in profusion and grandeur, and after having disposed of all they had brought from their own country. they were supported by their labour, and occasionally by alms from the monks at Hispahan. These good fathers continually protected them as well as the other Europeans resident there, each as long as we remained in that city relieving them to the extent of his ability.

Georgia has existed almost constantly from early time in the manner I have here described. As to temporalities, it has ever maintained itself independent, which is certainly a prodigy, its situation between the two great empires of Persia and Turkey being considered, and the inveteracy they have constantly shewn against it, rather on account of the religion of its inhabitants, than for any other cause; that they should so have upheld themselves, divided by party differences as its Princes frequently have been, almost without knowledge of artillery, with few or no fire-arms, with so small a number of subjects compared with their opponents, and what is above all, without the means of receiving succour from any other power, owing to their insulated position. These collective circumstances evince in their governors a great portion of courage; while, in spite of all attempts at oppressing them, with their sovereignty they have even to the present day upheld themselves, as have their subjects also, true votaries of the Christian faith. On this account it appears to me not only that they deserve great praise, but that the church itself is highly indebted to them for the bravery and prowess they have exhibited in the wars they have waged at one time with the Persians, at another with the Turks, frequently defeating their armies; and especially for the constancy with which they have defended and preserved the pure religion of Jesus.

In the present age, either as a punishment for their sins, or otherwise by permission of the Most High, the Georgians have been sorely oppressed; and that, more than to any other cause, owing to their disorganization and feuds: hence, notwithstanding they yet have considerable power, they have lost a great part of that they formerly possessed. For, of the six Princes which I have described, one descended from their ancient Kings, whose dominions bordered on Armenia and Cappadocia in the neighbourhood of Tabril and the confines of Media, and who served against his will, at one time in the armies of the Turks, at another in those of Persia, in their continual wars, had his territories by degrees incorporated with those of the Turks, who finally seized upon the whole of them, under the vain pretext of his being the fomentor of these troubles. I am told that there yet exists a young Prince of his family who lives at the court of the Grand Signior, soliciting there in vain, as an indemnification for the dominions ravished from him, the government of some province.

Of late years, upon a fresh war breaking out between the Persians and Turks, shortly before my travelling into Persia, two other Georgian Princes of the ancient royal house were spoiled of their principalities; and, although not utterly ruined, were reduced to a wretched condition. Possibly, however, some new revolution, which is not unlikely to happen, may reinstate them. These two Sovereigns are the Princes Teimuras and Luarfab, both whom, their territories laying on the frontiers of Persia, were in measure dependent on that empire. The greater part of the Princes of Georgia even were accustomed to receive their education at the court of that power, and these two latter passed several years of their infancy there. In the war of which I speak, while peace was negotiating between the Persians and Turks; whilst yet the armies of either



power were in presence of each other, and while, whom these Princes depended on, was yet under discussion, each claiming them as his vassals, the King of Persia affirmed to the Turkish ambassador that they constantly owned allegiance to him, and that as a proof they waited on him in his camp as often as required. The ambassador, who would not allow his claim, answered, that if they were thus submissive, it might be proved by his summoning them at the instant.

Upon this the King summoned them, but these Princes, seeing the Turkish army so close upon them, were fearful of declaring themselves, and prevaricated first with one then with the other, excusing themselves handsomely towards the Persians, but refusing to enter their camp. This piqued the Persian exceedingly, and brought him into a degree of disrepute among the Turks; he, however, dissembled his resentment at the instant, as he could do no other; but after the Peace was concluded and the Ottoman army withdrawn, he, by his usual intrigues, managed to effect a disunion between Luarfab and Teimuraz, such even as almost to engage them to resort to arms, notwithstanding their affinity, for Teimuras had espoused as a second wife the sister of Luarfab; extremities, however, were prevented, while their two armies were on foot, by the interposition of certain noblemen, their vassals, who represented to and satisfied them of the division being fomented by the King of Persia, for the purpose of ruining both. Upon looking into the intrigue, they discovered that this King had secretly conveyed a letter or order to either, couched in the self same terms, exhorting each to attack, make away with the other, and seize upon his dominions, in which attempt he pledged to succour him, and maintain him in possession of the territories he should conquer: professing to each he addressed the strongest friendship and the greatest aversion to his adversary, on many accounts which he suggested. Notwithstanding this elucidation, so easy of deception is this nation, it failed to put them on their guard, or teach them wisdom.

In addition to this, the King fomented discord between Teimuraz and his mother, or at least excited mistrust. This princess, called Ketevan Dedupali, or Queen Ketevan, possessed great abilities, was of exemplary conduct, related to Luarfab, and being a widow, had governed the state for years during the minority of Teimuraz, and had valiantly defended it against Constantine Mensa her cousin, a Mahometan Prince, who, upon the death of her husband, Daud, the brother of Constantine, had mercilessly and cruelly massacred her old father Alexander. After him another brother attempted an invasion of the state, and would have succeeded but for her giving him battle, defeating him, and putting him to death, together with a number of persons who supported him. Upon these several accounts she was exceedingly esteemed and loved by the people. The King of Persia, to excite mistrust in the mind of Teimuraz, insinuated that his mother intended to marry a certain officer, whom, for his valour and prudence, she had employed in different departments of the government; and that in such case, she would contrive the ruin of Teimuraz, for the purpose of securing the principality to the children she might have by her second husband.

Teimuraz nourishing this idea, and ignorant of the snare laid for him, put this officer, the best stay of his country, to death, and withdrew all authority from his mother; afterwards this young man, unexperienced and not beloved by his nobility, found himself encircled with trouble. For the King of Persia excited fresh discontent in the state, and rendered him contemptible in the eyes of the nobles, on account of his being a child, treating them on their visits to Persia with the greatest distinction and familiarity, making them considerable presents, and in every thing which regarded their

their religion, admitting perfect toleration; so that by degrees they became attached to this monarch, weaned of their affection for their natural sovereign, and esteemed as the height of felicity their having him for lord.

After employing such artifices for some time, the King of Persia, in 1613, fell all at once upon Georgia with a large army, under pretence of Teimuraz having married the Princess Kaurashian, sister of Luarfab, who had previously been promised to him. Wherefore, on his arrival upon the frontiers of the dominions of Luarfab and Teimuraz, he ordered these two Princes to repair to his camp, to render account of this and bring him the bride, stating his firm resolution of possessing her, and insisting on the dissolution of her marriage with Teimuraz, which already had been consummated; as if such a practice were allowable with the Christians as with the Mahometans.

The Georgian Princes were astonished at this unexpected summons, and what augmented their confusion was the treachery of a number of noblemen, who afforded a free passage to the troops of Persia, and introduced them into the heart of the country; into which, without this perfidy, from the natural fortifications which surround it, and its difficult passes, it would have been impossible for him to have penetrated. These Princes, exceedingly perplexed, knew not what measures to adopt, and Luarfab, the most simple of the two, resolving on obedience, surrendered himself, and was sent by the Persian into the province of Asterabad, on the Caspian Sea, a considerable distance from Georgia, where he was placed under the care of the khan of that province, and treated rather as a guest than a prisoner, being allowed to go wherever he chose. The King of Persia did not commit any devastation upon or even enter the territories of Luarfab, but established there as a governor one Riarei, or Bagred Mirza, either an uncle or cousin of Luarfab, who had some years before turned Mahometan in Persia. He had a son a Moslem as well as his father, but born in this religion, who governed in that country when I was there, not indeed as a sovereign prince, but as a khan and vassal of the King of Persia, the better part of whose forces were commanded by officers of the Christian faith, which likewise was the religion of the chief part of his subjects.

After Luarfab had resided in this manner for some years in Asterabad, that he might be more secure of his person, the King of Persia caused him to be removed to Farfistan, or Persia Proper, one of the provinces the most distant from Georgia, where he was closely confined for some time in a fortress, at a short distance from the capital, called Shiras. At last in 1621, or about that time, when his subjects had the greatest hopes of his liberation, and the King appeared most anxious to see and be favourable to him, exactly the reverse occurred. For this sovereign all at once was disgusted with the Prince, in consequence of the revengeful insinuations of one Murza, a man of highest consideration among the Georgians, and very powerful, whose sister Luarfab had either promised to marry, or after marrying had repudiated, who persuaded the King, with whom he was high in favour, that he never could maintain a secure and peaceable possession of the dominions of Luarfab as long as he lived; for being so well beloved by his people, they would constantly nourish hopes of seeing him again their sovereign, as long as he existed, their hearts and good-will being wholly his. Instigated by this motive, or else from the discovery of a conspiracy about this time among the Georgians to destroy him, Abbas resolved on quashing their hopes, which, in case of any insurrection, might cause these people to appear in array against him, and caused Luarfab to be strangled in prison with the bow-string.

Teimuraz was more cautious, never trusting himself to the custody of the King of Persia, declaring when cited, that he was apprehensive of his anger, as he was

offended;



offended; that it was impossible for him to part with his wife, as neither the Christian religion nor his own honour allowed him to give her up to another; but in order to satisfy him of his submission, he sent to him his own mother with his two unmarried sisters, and two young children, his offspring by the lady contested. This measure was adopted by Teimuraz under expectation that the Lady Ketevan, his mother, a woman of consummate ability, and who had several times before negotiated different affairs in Persia with the King, with whose manner and disposition she was perfectly acquainted, would be able to appease that Monarch, and procure him peace. The measure, however, was fruitless, the King being inexorable, and appearing to be passionately attached to the Princess Kaurashian, well knowing that Teimuraz neither could nor would listen to the insolent proposal made to him of giving her up, he insisted on Teimuraz appearing before him. But as the Prince refused obedience, the King retained the Princess Ketevan, and sent her, together with her children and grandchildren, to the city of Shiras, where, when I was there, she was maintained with the respect due to her rank. After this the King of Persia entered Georgia with his army, that is to say the province of Kacheti, dependant on Teimuraz, which was made accessible by the treason of several nobles, who sided with him in hopes of great rewards, and opened to him the most difficult passages through the mountains.

Teimuraz perceiving his enemies all at once in the midst of his country, without any army on foot to oppose them, or time to raise one, was fearful of trusting himself to subjects whose fidelity he had full reason to suspect, and having no other resource, he, with his wife and a number of Georgians, who faithfully adhered to him, betook themselves to flight; first taking refuge in the more interior and strongest part of the country of Imeritè, where this Prince first reigned, and afterwards flying to Odisci or Dadian.

Many noblemen under false hopes voluntarily submitted to the King of Persia, and apostatizing enrolled themselves under his banners. Others of more generous disposition, but who had no time to fly, were overcome by force. Thus the whole people, in immense numbers, became the prey of the spoiler.

The King, upon his entrance into Georgia, after observing the natural strength of its fortifications, and reflecting on the injury to which he would be exposed from the inhabitants provided they should become united and under a good government, was not only undesirous of retaining the country, but conceived it best to withdraw thence the whole of his army as soon as possible. He was, however, unwilling to miss the advantage he obtained by the subjugation of such a numerous people, of infinitely greater value than the country itself; and duly weighing the desolation which would follow the entire depopulation of a whole province, he caused all the inhabitants, males as well as females, to leave their houses, noblemen as well as plebeians, young and old of all descriptions, causing them to take with them their most valuable effects, as many as they could, and placing them in front of his army, he marched them rapidly into his own dominions, afterwards distributing them among those provinces farthest from Georgia, the thinnest of inhabitants. Hence the provinces of Khorman or Caramania, Mazanderan, on the Caspian Sea, and several others of that empire, are now principally inhabited by Georgians and Circassians; for a number of Circassians but a short time before, from a dearth of provisions in their own country, passed into that of Teimuraz, and became the vassals of this Prince in common with the Georgians, living and intermarrying with them. These, therefore, were treated in the same manner as the Georgians, and, alike dispersed over the different provinces of Persia, enjoy equal liberty with the other subjects of the crown. Although they are found in many other

other provinces, in Farfistan and Mazanderan, they are in such numbers, that throughout whole cities and districts there are no other inhabitants. For their subsistence the King grants them lands, for which they pay, in common with the Mahometan subjects, an inconsiderable fine. These people, who form the chief of the inhabitants of these provinces, preserve their religion, which, however, is very gross Christianity, owing to their having no priests or ministers to instruct them, or at least so small a number as to be insufficient for the tuition of such a multitude of people variously dispersed; and even such as these are so ignorant themselves, as to be of little utility. Many noblemen, however, impatient of hardships, and most of the soldiers, with several among the people, moved by ambition and avarice, in order to participate the bounty of the King largely dealt out to those who change their religion, and again numbers induced by necessity, have turned Mahometans, and still continue to do so. By means of these the army of Abbas has been frequently augmented; he employing these serfs, as they are called, as a counterpoise against and to restrain the insolence of the Quisilbashis. The number of these renegadoes in his service, exclusive of Armenians and Circassians, is computed at 30,000, all embodied together. Some of them hold commands in the army, have governments, and have risen to various dignities, even to those of sultans and khans.

Distinct from these Georgians, who are free in Persia, there is moreover an infinite number not only of the common people, but of the nobility, who in the disorder consequent on the irruption of the Persians into their country, were made slaves by the Persians. So many are there of this description, that there is not a house of any consequence in Persia but is full of men and women of this country. Not a satrap but has his wives entirely of the Georgian nation, the women of that country being famous for beauty, and even the King has scarcely any other for his attendants, his palaces swarming with them, as well females as men. All of these nearly have abjured their religion, either in fact or in semblance, under the impression common among them, that God knowing the secrets of the heart, it is enough they should remain faithful internally to their religion, and that it matters not what profession they exteriorly make.

This unfortunate measure of transporting the inhabitants of Georgia was attended by the most dreadful disorders and excesses. Murders, people dying of starvation, robberies, rapes, children stifled in despair by their own parents, or thrown by them into rivers, others massacred by the Persians for want of good complexions, others again torn from their mothers' breasts, and thrown into the streets and highways, to become the prey of wild beasts, or be trodden to death by the horses and camels belonging to the army, which for a whole day together trampled upon carcases: such is the picture of this shocking expedient; and afterwards, how agonizing the separation of parents from their children, husbands from their wives, brothers from their sisters, divided from each other, and forwarded to different provinces! So numerous were these wretched ruined people on this occasion, that they were publicly sold at a cheaper rate even than beasts. But let us draw a veil over this frightful scene, and proceed to speak of Teimuraz. After wandering for several days in the territories of the other Princes of Georgia, he at last withdrew to the Turks, among whom he latterly continued to dwell, receiving from the Grand Signor, as I was informed, the government of the city of Cogni, with some lands in Cappadocia, inhabited principally by Christians of the Greek church, the revenue from which government serves for his support. He has continually endeavoured and still seeks to be revenged on the King of Persia. He it was, who, in 1618, was the instigation of that great army of the Turks and Tatars penetrating into Persia, in which expedition he accompanied it. This army made



greater progress into Persia than any one had ever done before, almost reaching Ardebil, a sanctuary of the Persians, and the place of sepulture of the reigning dynasty of that country, which Teimuraz was ardently desirous of destroying, to avenge himself for the destruction of the churches in Georgia. In this war, the most perilous of any in which Abbas was ever engaged, I accompanied him. The Turks, however, from bad conduct, want of skill and courage, did not reap the advantage they might have done upon the occasion, and finally concluded, as is commonly the case with them, by effecting nothing; nay, their retreat rather resembled a flight, a number of their men being cut off, which caused the Persian to return to court in triumph, Teimuraz repairing to his government. Since then he has remained quiet, waiting a more opportune instant, which, at the farthest, must occur on the death of Abbas, whom he has every chance of surviving, being much the younger of the two, and of which he is secure, owing to the disappointment these Georgians have experienced in their expectations, who apostatized in Persia after their treachery to Teimuraz; the King not having requited them as they wished, nor treating them any longer with the same kindness he did before they became his vassals, nor in matters of religion acting as they expected, receiving none into his service, nor affording to any one, whether noble or a soldier, the least assistance, other than on condition of turning a Mahometan. For these reasons the Georgians look on him with disgust, and repent their conduct, so much so even, that they exclaim openly they have been deceived, and that if the past could be recalled, they would act differently. Hence, I doubt not, although Abbas as a prudent and much-dreaded Sovereign may be able to maintain his ground as long as he lives, that upon his death (as is always the case in Persia) the sword will be drawn at his funeral; when, provided the Georgians retain their present disposition and be united, provided they have a chief possessed of abilities, Teimuraz by their assistance may eventually effect great things in Persia, nay possibly assume the succession: against this, there is but the natural temper of his people, fickle and prone to change. Nor will it any ways surprise me, if the dominions of Luarfab should again become subject to some Christian Prince, either by the abjuration of Mahometanism on the part of the present governor, or by the people deposing him and placing some Christian on the throne, similar revolutions not being unusual in Georgia.

The Princess Ketevan, the mother of Teimuraz, was, as I have noticed before, conducted to Shiras with her two grand-children. While I was there she resided still in that city, and was treated with great respect. She, with all her family, consisting of a number of male and female attendants, remained firmly attached to the faith of Christ, observing all the duties of religion as well as she was able; but at that time she had no priest with her, or any regular minister of her country to fulfil its duties. On this account, one of her attendants officiated, attached, as I conceive, to the church by some degree, as he was a good Christian, and being looked upon as such by the Mussulmen, they were solicitous of removing him; for which purpose they accused him of some weighty crime, and suborning false witnesses to prove it, put him to death, burning him alive at Shiras. He met death with constancy, firm in his faith, and bearing his fate with resignation. As for the other clerk she had with her when I was there, he managed the whole affairs of the household as an intendant, and was rather a courtier than a divine; and, whether owing to ignorance or any other cause I know not, he never said mass. She had with her, moreover, a monk, but merely a novice of his order, and a lay brother, who was of no service. As, however, the Carmelites and Augustin friars have now a convent and a church at Shiras, I doubt not they will have afforded consolation to the Princess, and preserve her steady in the faith, particularly as they were never wanting while I

was there in rendering her assistance in temporal matters, as long as she lived. I say as long as she lived, for in passing through Bassora some months ago, I received intelligence of the death of this Princess on the 22d of September, 1624. She suffered martyrdom in a most cruel and glorious manner in the city of Shiras, by order of the King of Persia, on account of her persistence in the faith. I am ignorant wherefore they were solicitous of forcing a renunciation upon her, and can say nothing of the particulars; for them I refer to the memoirs of Father Gregory Orsini, a Dominican, the vicar general of Armenia, who in his travels passing through Persia shortly before me, at a time this newly happened, gave a relation of the circumstance. This Father was at Bassora when I met him, and heard of it from his mouth, and thence he afterwards brought a minute detail of the matter with him to Rome. As for the grand-children of this princess, the one called Levan, the other Alexander, they were brought up by the King, who would never suffer them to see their grandmother, as he educated them in Islamism, lest she should convert them, notwithstanding they resided in the same city. The same year that Luarfab was put to death in prison, Abbas caused them both to be castrated, desirous of destroying in them, with all hopes of posterity, any desire they might conceive of returning to the country of their ancestors.

In my time, the grandmother, not to hurt her feelings, was kept ignorant of this circumstance; and, on having occasion to see her domestics, they enjoined me the first thing not to mention it. Teimuraz has, however, other children by his second wife, boys as well as girls: Providence not allowing, possibly, that his family should be wholly extinct. When some months back I was at Aleppo, news had arrived there that Teimuraz, on account of being urged by the Turks to turn Mussulman, had sought refuge in Muscovy with a Christian Prince, as well as himself a sectary of the Greek church, after which he attempted but fruitlessly through his interference, he being on intimate terms with the King of Persia, to obtain the liberation of his mother. It was even said that this interference was the cause of Abbas insisting on her apostatizing, as in case of her turning Mahometan it would justify his refusal, or objecting would give a colour to his putting her to death. However this may be, the latent sparks of hatred in the breast of Teimuraz were kindled into a flame upon this new outrage, and, joined by the Muscovites, he breathed nothing but war and revenge. These, moved to pity and indignation at such an atrocity, afforded him aid, and taking his route through Circassia and by the Caucasian mountains, which lay between Georgia and Muscovy, this Prince re-entered Georgia, and not only in his own country but also in that of the murdered Luarfab had attacked the Persians with great hopes of success; the way being paved for him by a terrible slaughter of Mahometans, on the part of the same Moura, chief of the Georgians, and a renegado, who, as I have before related, was the first instigator of all their calamities, and governed this country for the young Prince, in the hands of the King of Persia. Moura at length becoming suspected by Abbas, from the great authority he possessed, the wily King intended to put him to death; this, however, being discovered by Moura, he repented his conduct to Luarfab, and forgave the injury he had received, already too amply revenged. It is said he has renounced Islamism, and made profession anew of Christianity; that, by a piece of artifice, he has destroyed several general officers belonging to the Persians, who had shortly before arrived in that country, and either dethroned or put to death the young Mahometan Prince. He is, it is further said, industriously employed in rendering Teimuraz sovereign of all those countries, and delivering his nation entirely from the tyranny of Persia, and the religion of its false prophet. This news, however, I do not give for fact, but relate it merely as it was current.



Notwithstanding the misfortune which, as I have related, befel Teimuraz and the murdered Luarsab, the dominions of the latter are on their old footing, still governed by a relative of his family, but a Mussulman and a subject of Persia, unless the last-mentioned news be true, and it be relieved from his yoke. Teimuraz is still alive, although deprived of his dominions; his country and his children enslaved by Persia, his mother martyred, and part of his territories depopulated and laid waste. In short, hitherto he waits for what fortune or rather Providence may have in store for him.

There are three other Georgian Princes, that is to say, of Imeriti, Odishi, and Guriel, who have constantly flourished, and continue to do so, preserving their dominions in prosperity, without suffering from the Mahometans. The territories of the two Princes of Odishi and Guriel lay on the Black Sea, somewhat exposed indeed to attack from the naval power of the Turks; but possessing, in consequence of their position, the advantage of a considerable trade in silks and other articles with Constantinople and the whole of Greece. In order to keep friends with such powerful neighbours, and that they may have no molestation from them, they profess a dependance on Turkey, and by dint of presents and continual services manage to secure for themselves peace and tranquillity. They, however, never admit the Turks into their country to assume command, nor allow a passage even for their army to any other part. On the contrary, they preserve such perfect liberty, that notwithstanding the Polish Cossacks, who dwell at the mouth of the Dnieper on the Black Sea, be constantly inimical to the Turks, and are ever injuring them, the Georgians nevertheless receive them as friends, being Christians, and intermarry with them; nay it is said that the King of Poland maintains a friendly intercourse and correspondence with them, and that vessels frequently traffic between the two countries, a circumstance likely to be of great consequence to the Georgians, the Cossacks at present being masters of the Black Sea, and very powerful; add to which, the King of Poland by means of this sea, in case of their being disturbed by the Persians or Turks, might render them assistance, and these again be of service to the Cossacks, the ports of the countries affording secure retreats to cruizers, in their different expeditions. Moreover, it is not impossible that their position may in some future time be highly advantageous, should any great enterprise be undertaken hereafter by the Europeans against Constantinople, in facilitating an attack upon it by sea as well as by land.

As for the dominions of the Prince of Imeriti, from their laying more in the heart of the country, farther distant from the Persians and Turks, and being well defended on all sides by mountains, rivers, and difficult passages, he is independant of either one or the other; exteriorly indeed he pretends friendship to both, at the same time mistrusting each, and admitting neither one nor the other to march their armies through his territories. In this he shews his policy, as either, on account of difference of religion, would ruin him if he could: for the Mahometans, notwithstanding they profess and appear to be friendly to Christians under their government, never tolerate them except when induced by interest or necessity, and incapable of acting otherwise; for ultimately they have ever ended in exterminating them, as the case with the Greeks of Constantinople, of more recent date with the late Kings of Hungary, and in various other instances known to all the world.

After thus having rendered a full account of the temporal condition of Georgia as I found it, I shall now speak of the spiritual. The Georgians at a very early period embraced the faith of Christ, to which they were converted by a foreign female slave, about the year 330. By this slave many great miracles are said to have been performed; her

name, however, is unknown, even to the inhabitants of the country, notwithstanding they have retained her history; her only denomination in our martyrology being that of *Servant of the Holy Christ*. From the Greeks, I believe, they first received the faith in the time of the Emperors of Constantinople, and in consequence adopted the Greek ceremonies; those they now observe. The office of the church is read in their own language, which is written in two sorts of characters, the one called Cudfuri, used in churches and for their sacred books, the other Chedoli, for common use; and although this be not the character of the church, the holy books are nevertheless written in it for the benefit of seculars. The Georgians have constantly followed the tenets and ritual of the Greek church, and possibly are yet involved in its errors. Among the Greeks, indeed, these are less numerous than in the other of the eastern churches, and the Georgians admit even fewer possibly than the Greeks; but as they form a nation little addicted to study, arms being their chief occupation, they are consequently ignorant, and but few among them pay attention to these matters, living like good Christians in the faith. As, however, there are some of their country much more addicted than the Greeks to the examination of their own books, it follows, that one meets with an invincible ignorance in them, which is excusable. Moreover, being uninformed of the latter councils, after the holding of which the Greeks still retained certain errors from which the Georgians continue free, (as is justly remarked by Baronius in his Martyrology, and Gabriel Prateolus in his *Catalogue alphabetique des Heretiques*), they stand more justified for those to which they adhere than the Greeks. In addition to this, they are free from the presumption of the Greeks with respect to the supremacy of the church; and notwithstanding they in certain matters acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople, they are not subject to him, appointing their metropolitan among themselves, nor suffering any jurisdiction on his part over their church. They have likewise a great respect for Rome, St. Peter and St. Paul, much reverence for the Pope, and are void of that aversion entertained by the Greeks to supremacy. They are neither proud, perverse, nor hypocritical; neither are they deceitful in their treaties like the Greeks, but, on the contrary, mild, docile, honest, simple, and so easy to be deceived, that, as I have before related, they owe to this the whole of the misfortunes which have befallen them from the Mahometans. In addition, they are subject to Christian Princes, form a republic, and possess a government as well for temporal as spiritual affairs; a matter of chief importance, seeing that those nations which have not any chief, nor any established form of government in the East, are made subject to infidel sovereigns, who at bottom are the enemies of all Christians. With such how is a general union possible? What councils for the purpose can there be assembled? And in case of a synod, what resolutions could there be adopted? Or who, on their being framed, would observe them? And, slaves as they are, might not any difference which should follow; might not calumny afford a pretext to the Mahometans to destroy them, and persecute the whole body of Christians under their dominion? But all this is possible among the Georgians, on account of their possessing a regular government, a religion and a King of their own nation, ruling with despotic sway according to the manner of the East; nor is there a doubt but great advantage would result from such an undertaking, provided it were zealously begun, and the inhabitants were instructed by competent persons acquainted with their language; although, for what cause I know not, while the Holy See has employed itself zealously for the reunion of the rest of Christians in the East, and has been lavish of expence to reclaim and reunite the Greeks and other nations, it has hitherto paid no attention to the Georgians, who are not more distantly situated, nor more inaccessible than the others,



others, not less dear to God, nor less deserving of the care of the Romish Church. This consideration has prompted me, acquainted as I am with their affairs, and strongly attached to them, as well spiritually as by the ties of friendship subsisting between myself and many persons belonging to that country, to represent this matter to you, and implore Your Holiness in the most pressing manner to exercise your wisdom in succouring them; for the fewer errors to which they may hereafter be subject, the greater the merit which Your Holiness will evince in the eyes of God, and the more brilliant your glory before man.

In order, however, that your Holiness may not be ignorant of the means by which this is to be effected, and the ways by which succour may be sent, I have to inform you that there are three.

The first and shortest is by Constantinople, whence one may travel to that country by land, passing from Scutaria into Asia in safety with caravans, or companies of merchants, who are constantly going thither through Trebisond, and effect the journey in a month; but much more easily and by a shorter course by sea; the transit seldom taking up more than from five to eight days. The most fit persons for such an enterprise would be the Jesuits, the Dominican friars, and the Franciscans, who have a convent there and a church; but especially the Jesuits, on account of its being their peculiar province to devote themselves to the spiritual health of their neighbour, to instruct and establish colleges and schools, which, as is evinced by experience, is the best and most excellent of all methods. However, in passing from Constantinople into Georgia, I conceive there may exist some difficulty, owing to the objection of the Turks to people of our religion entering that country, particularly if known to be monks or priests; nevertheless, I have no doubt, but individuals possessed of prudence and a knowledge of Turkey, at the same time familiar with the languages, by assuming a different dress, and simulating the character of a merchant, or some other avocation, may travel thither with little danger of discovery, going in small numbers and at different periods.

The second way is by Persia, and much more easy, by accompanying the *cafila*, or caravan of merchants, first to the dominions of Luarsab, at present subject to the Persians, and thence to the other and all of the states of Georgia. For this purpose, from that quarter the Portuguese Augustins might be dispatched, who have churches in Persia, or more properly the Carmelites; as well as that in their abstinence from meat they much resemble the oriental friars, as that from the austerity of their mode of life, they would have more influence upon the monks and prelates of the country and afford a more excellent example for the people. They would have greater facility in their enterprise from the late martyrdom of the Princess Ketevan at Shiras, whose body is said to be interred in the convent of the Augustins, through the means of the relations of the metropolitan Allahverdi, and several others of the chief of the Georgians, with whom I have formed an intimacy. In this case it would be requisite I should accompany them; and that every thing should be conducted with the greatest caution, secrecy, and address, that the King of Persia might have no suspicion of any other design intended under this cover, which might expose the adventurers to much injury, as well as the Georgians themselves.

The third and last course is by the way of Poland. From the extremities of this kingdom one may readily reach the Black Sea, and thence in a very few days arrive in Georgia. This voyage may also be effected by descending the Dnieper, passing by Kiovia, said to be the Tomos of Pontus, whither Ovid was banished. In Poland there would be

no want of monks for this purpose either among the Jesuits, Dominicans, or Carmelite friars, all of whom have convents in that country ; nor would the furtherance of the plan on the part of the King be wanting, so good a Catholic and so pious as he is ; nay, we should meet with assistance from his vassals the Cossacs, through whose means missionaries might enter Georgia in perfect security, with a bishop, even nuncio or ambassador, if necessary. The Russians also in Poland might be of some avail, as following hitherto the Greek ritual ; although some among them be Roman Catholics, they might be instrumental in inducing them to persevere in the Catholic faith, and would set them a valuable example. But Your Holiness who, separate from your consummate wisdom, are moreover inspired by the Holy Spirit, will readily discover many other and preferable methods to what I can point out. I, therefore, beseech you to accept this account, containing the summary of all the information I possess, as a testimonial of my reverence for the Holy See, and zeal for the propagation of the religion and the service of Christ ; with which I conclude ; most humbly kissing Your Holiness's feet.



# THE TRAVELS OF SIR JOHN CHARDIN,

BY THE WAY OF THE BLACK SEA,

THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF

CIRCASSIA, MINGRELIA, THE COUNTRY OF THE ABCAS; GEORGIA,  
ARMENIA, AND MEDIA, INTO PERSIA PROPER;

With a very curious and accurate Account, not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Customs, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the several Nations that inhabit them: Relations so much the more curious, as those Countries and the People dwelling in them, had not been tolerably described before by any Author\*.

1. *A succinct Introductory Account of the worthy Person by whom these Travels were written; of the Value of them; and of the peculiar Excellencies by which they are distinguished.* — 2. *An Account of the Thracian Bosphorus; of the delightful Prospects in sailing through it; and the beautiful Countries upon the Coast.* — 3. *The Author's Arrival at Caffa; a Description of the Country of the Grim Tatars, and of the Condition, Customs, and Manners of that Nation.* — 4. *The Cherks, Abcas, and other barbarous Nations that, however, style themselves Christians, largely described; with some very curious Remarks on the State and Strength of those Nations.* — 5. *A more particular Relation of the Mingrelians, Cara Cherks, or Black Circassians, and other Inhabitants of that Country, known to the Ancients by the Name of Colchis.* — 6. *The large and fruitful Country of Mingrelia exactly described; with a View of the Government, Forces, Way of living, and dissolute Manners of all Ranks and Degrees of People who inhabit it.* — 7. *Of the terrible Corruption, in point of Religion, which reigns amongst them; and from whence it appears to be a wild and extravagant Mixture of Atheism and Superstition, kept up by the Arts and Frauds of their Priests, who are little better than Cheats and Jugglers.* — 8. *The Principality of Gurjel, and the Kingdom of Imeretta, anciently called Iberia; with the Countries adjacent described, and the Manner in which they lost their Independency, and became Tributaries to the Turks.* — 9. *The Author continues his Journey through Mingrelia; is present at the Ceremony of baptizing two Children, of which he gives a large and particular Account.* — 10. *The famous Mountain Caucasus described; and a View of the Condition of its present Inhabitants.* — 11. *A large and circumstantial Detail of the Country and Inhabitants of Georgia; with a Description of the capital City of Teflis, and the State of the Roman Catholic Missionaries in that Country.* — 12. *The Author's Travels through the Countries at the Foot of Mount Taurus, forming a little Principality inhabited by the Cossacs.* — 13. *An Account of the famous City of Erivan, and of the Country of Armenia, of which it is the Capital; as well as of the People who inhabit it.* — 14. *A Digression concerning the Marriages of the Persians, and the Reasons why Divorces, though lawful amongst them, are seldom practised.* — 15. *The Author's subsequent Observations in his Travels through Armenia, and of the Fortresses erected to prevent the Incursions of*

\* HARRIS, vol. xi. p. 862.

*the Turks. — 16. Of the noble Province of Azerbeyan, anciently called Media; with an Account of a spurious Kind of Cochineal prepared by the Inhabitants. — 17. A Description of the large, populous, and magnificent City of Tauris; the prodigious Fertility of the Country round about it; and a Comparison between the different Climates of Media and Parthia; with many other curious Particulars. — 18. A Description of the last-mentioned Province; and of the Cities of Ebber and Casbin, in the Neighbourhood of which grow the finest Grapes in the World. — 19. An Account of the famous City of Rey, formerly one of the largest in Asia; of which there are now scarce any Ruins remaining. — 20. The City of Com, and the glorious Tombs of the Persian Saints therein fully described; with an Account of the adjacent Country. — 21. A Description of the City of Casban; with an Account of the several Manufactures carried on there, and of the fruitful Country about it. — 22. The Author's Account of two other Roads leading from Warsaw to Ispahan, and from Ispahan to Moscow. — 23. Remarks and Observations upon the foregoing Section.*

1. **WE** have very large and considerable collections of travels through the empire of Persia, and the provinces depending upon it; and, indeed, there are very few countries that better deserve to be visited, or which afford either the traveller himself, or whoever peruses his accounts, more entertainment than Persia. Notwithstanding this, many inconveniencies would arise from inserting numerous accounts of travels through this country, because of necessity it must produce many repetitions, which would appear tedious and troublesome, as well as perplexing to the reader. The method therefore that we shall take, is to give in this section the Travels of Sir John Chardin, from Constantinople into the Persian dominions; and in the subsequent sections we shall give a description, in as regular a method as is possible, of the whole empire, distinguished into its several provinces, with whatever occurs remarkable or worthy of notice in the works of other celebrated travellers, so as to preserve the marrow and quintessence of their relations, without embarrassing ourselves with things of less consequence and particulars, that without the least prejudice to the design of this work may be as well omitted. By this means we shall bring into a reasonable compass all that is requisite, and give a distinct and clear notion of the past and present condition of one of the most powerful and famous empires of the earth.

The reason we made choice of Sir John Chardin's Travels, by way of introduction, was his taking a different route from most other travellers, viz. by the Black Sea, and the countries that border upon it, which are scarce described by any other traveller, or at least are described by none with equal plainness and perspicuity. It rises from hence, that, generally speaking, we have only confused and imperfect conceptions concerning these countries and their inhabitants, which, however, it is of some importance that we should know more distinctly; because as they made a great figure in ancient history, so it is not at all impossible, that as low and despicable as they now seem, they may hereafter come to change their circumstances, and appear with new lustre, if not in ours, yet in the eyes of our posterity. It is very evident, that from their situation they are very considerable; and if their inhabitants were well governed, and lived in tolerable correspondence with each other, they might be now, as they were heretofore, equally formidable to the Grand Signior, successor to the Greek monarchs of Constantinople, and to the Persian emperors. We have a late instance of this in the case of Nadir Shah, who received from these despised and barbarous people, that check which proved first fatal to his authority, and in the end to his person. The author of these travels was a



to commerce very early, and prosecuted with great success the most considerable branch of foreign trade, that of dealing as a merchant in jewels, which he understood perfectly, and by which he acquired, with an unspotted character, a very large and affluent fortune. He made several excursions into the East, by different roads, and resided several years in Persia; had very great and uncommon opportunities of entering deeply into the subjects of which he has treated, and digested his accounts with great accuracy and perspicuity; so that they have been esteemed not only here but in France, and throughout Europe in general, as the most perfect in their kind that have hitherto appeared.

This gentleman, when the persecution against the Protestants broke out in France, came over hither, and brought with him great riches. He was received with much respect at court, and King Charles the II<sup>d</sup>, as a mark of his favour, bestowed upon him, in the month of March 1693, the honour of knighthood. He published the first edition of his Travels in our language, in a large folio volume, but they have been since several times printed with many corrections, great improvements, and considerable augmentations in French. He continued to reside here, and purchased a considerable estate, so that in the reign of Queen Anne, we find him frequently mentioned by such as took occasion to shew how much the wealth of England was improved, and its trade increased, by encouraging foreigners of the Protestant religion to come and settle amongst us. Sir John died at a good old age, on Christmas-day 1712. He left behind two sons and several daughters.

His eldest son was created a baronet of this kingdom by His late Majesty King George the First; and having purchased from Grantham Andrews, Esq. of Sunbury, the noble seat of Kempton-Park, in the County of Middlesex, and not far from Hampton-Court, fixed there, and is still living and unmarried. The old gentleman employed a great part of the latter period of his life in completing his book of Travels, and intended, as himself informs us, to have written a distinct treatise, explaining a great variety of passages in the Scripture, from the customs and manners of the eastern nations, with which no man was better acquainted than he; but by many unlucky accidents was hindered from fulfilling that promise, to the no small concern of the learned world; who expected with great impatience so useful and instructive a book, of writing which he was extremely capable, and of seeing any thing of the same kind, the public since his decease seem to despair.

2. Sir John Chardin left Paris, Aug. 17, 1671, with an intention to go to the East-Indies, and travelling by way of Milan, Venice, and Florence, arrived at Leghorn in the end of October, and embarking in a ship, under a Dutch convoy, arrived at Smyrna, March 2, 1672, and twelve days after at Constantinople. He remained in this city four months, and in the mean time there happening a quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the French ambassador, which caused a report, that the Grand Vizier intended to arrest the ambassador, and all the French nation, he was afraid that his goods, which were very rich, and very considerable in quantity, would be seized; and so sought all means to get out of Constantinople, and to proceed on his journey to Persia.

The caravans in those hot months did not travel; but the Porte being about to send a new commander, with some foldiers and money, as they do yearly, to the fort of Azoph, which stands upon the lake Mœotis, he obtained passage in a Turkish saïck belonging to that fleet, and embarked, July 27, at a port in the Thracian Bosphorus. This channel, which is about fifteen miles in length, and about two in breadth, in most parts, but in others less, so called because an ox may swim over it, is certainly one of the loveliest parts of the world; for the shores are rising, and covered over with houses

of pleasure, woods, gardens, parks, delightful prospects, and wildernesses, watered with thousands of springs and fountains: the passage through it, in fair weather, is exceeding diverting, by reason of the great number of barks which are continually sailing to and fro, and the prospect of Constantinople from the top of it, which is about two miles distant, is the most charming that ever eyes beheld. There are four castles standing by it, all well fortified with great guns, two of them eight miles from the Black Sea, and two at the mouth of the channel, which is the most dangerous place for shipwrecks in all the Euxine Sea.

3. On the 3d of August, in the morning, he arrived at Caffa, a port in the Tauric Chersonese, or Peninsula, so called, because it was first inhabited by the Scythians of Mount Taurus. It is thirty-five leagues from north to south, and fifty-five from east to west. The isthmus, that joins it to the continent, is not above a league in breadth. It is inhabited by the Crim Tartars, who dwell in cities and towns; whereas their neighbours the Nogays and Calmucs dwell in tents, as the rest do on the continent.

Caffa is a great town built at the bottom of a little hill, upon the sea-shore, and encompassed with strong walls, that advance a little into the sea. It hath two castles: the one, which stands on a rising ground on the south side, is large, and commands all the parts thereabouts, and is the residence of a basha; the other is not so big, but is well furnished with guns. They reckon about four thousand houses in it, of which about three thousand two hundred are Mahometans, Turks, and Tartars, and the rest Christians, Greeks, and Armenians. The houses are small, and built of earth; as are also their bazars, mosques, and baths. The soil about it is dry and sandy, bearing little fruit, and the water is bad, but the air is very pure and wholesome. All provisions are very cheap and good, mutton not being above a farthing a pound, and other things proportionable. The road of Caffa is sheltered from the winds, except on the north and south-east sides, and the ships lie close to the shore safely in ten or twelve fathom water. There is a great trade driven here in salt-fish and caveare, which being taken out of the lake Mœotis, that is twenty-six miles distant from it, in great quantities, are transported into Europe, and as far as the Indies. They also export corn, butter, and salt, with which they furnish Constantinople, and several other places; for the Caffa butter is the best in all Turkey.

From Caffa he went in a ship bound for Colchis, Aug. 30, and the next day arrived at Donslow, or the salt-pits, fifty miles from Caffa, on the shore. Here are great marshes of salt, which is made by letting in the sea-water, and suffering it to congeal by the sun. The people say, that two hundred vessels are laden here with salt yearly, paying only 3s. a day to those that load it. About a mile from the shore is an habitation of the Tartars, where there is not above ten or twelve houses with a little mosque, and round about it a great number of tents, with several waggons close covered, which serve them instead of houses. The tents for themselves are very handsome, being made with poles, and covered with large light furs well stretched upon them; their inside is commonly hung with tapestry, and the floor is laid with the same. Every family hath two other tents belonging to them, covered with a great sarplar of wool, one for their servants, and kitchen, in which is a pit five feet deep, to make a fire in to dress their meat, and the other for their horses and cattle.

They store up their corn and forage in magazines under ground, which they cover so exactly, that none can find them but themselves. They can remove their tents with a small trouble, and in a very little time, and carry them away in carts drawn by oxen and horses, of which they breed a great number. They profess the Mahometan reli-



divination. From Donflow he sailed all along in the channel to Cape Cuodas, which Ptolemy calls *Cirocondoma*, where the coasts that bound the lake *Mœotis*, which are very high lands, are seen at about thirty miles distance.

4. From the channel of the lake *Mœotis*, to Mingrelia, is reckoned six hundred miles along the coasts, which consist of pleasant woods, inhabited by a sort of Tartars, called *Circassians*, and by the Turks, *Cherks*, but so thinly, that the country looks like a desert. The ancients called them *Zagzans*, or mountainers; and Pomponius Mela, *Sargacians*. They are neither subjects nor tributary to the Port, because their country producing nothing valuable, the Turks think it not worth the toil of conquering it. The vessels that come from Constantinople to Mingrelia trade with this people, but with their arms in their hands, and by hostages, for they are infidelity and perfidiousness itself, and will never fail to steal where they find an opportunity. The trade with them is managed by exchange, the *Cherks* bringing down slaves of all sexes and ages, honey, wax, leather, jackals, zandava, and other beasts' skins, for such commodities as they want.

*Circassia* is a pleasant country, and the soil is very fruitful, bringing forth great plenty of all sorts of fruit without trouble, as cherries, apples, pears, walnuts; but their chief wealth consists in cattle, as well-shaped horses, which are so swift and good, that they will tire the wild beasts, and catch them in plain course; goats, deer, and sheep, the wool of which is as fine as that of Spain, which the *Mulcovites* fetch to make felts. They sow no grain but millet for their own bread, and barley for their horses; and their women till and manure their ground: their drink is water and *boza*, which is a liquor made of millet, as intoxicating as wine: they live in wooden huts, and go almost naked. Every one is a sworn enemy to those that live in the provinces round about him. Their beds are made of sheep-skins sowed together, and stuffed with millet-leaves, beaten in the threshing as small as oat-chaff. They were formerly Christians, but now have no religion; no, not so much as the light of nature among them, save what they place in the observing certain superstitious ceremonies, borrowed both from the Christians and Mahometans.

The *Abcas* border upon the *Cherks*, possessing about an hundred miles upon the sea-coasts, between Mingrelia and *Circassia*. They are not so savage as the *Cherks*, but are as much inclined to thieving and robbery; so that the merchants trade with them with the like caution, and after the same manner. September the 10<sup>th</sup>, he arrived at *Isgaour*, a port in Mingrelia, where all the vessels that trade thither lie. It is a desert place, without any habitations, only the traders that come thither build themselves huts and booths of boughs for the time of their abode, which is usually as long as they find themselves safe from the *Abcas*.

5. *Colchis* or Mingrelia is situated at the end of the Black Sea: it is bounded on the east by the little kingdom of *Imeretta*, on the south by the Black Sea, on the west by the *Abcas*, and on the north by mount *Caucasus*. The *Corax* and *Phasis*, two famous rivers in the ancient histories, now called *Coddours* and *Rione*, part it, the first from the *Abcas*, and the other from *Imeretta*. The length of it is about one hundred and ten miles, and the breadth sixty. It was once fortified against the *Abcas*, by a wall of sixty miles in length, which is long since demolished, and become a thick forest.

The inhabitants of *Caucasus* that border upon *Colchis*, are the *Alanes*, *Suanes*, *Gigues*, *Caracioles*, or *Cara-cherks*, i. e. black *Circassians*, so called by the Turks, not from their complexion, for they are the fairest people in the world, but from their country, because it is always darkened with fogs and clouds. They were also anciently



(1) Princess

(2) Prince of Hohen

(3) Prince of



Christians, but now profess no religion, but live by robbery and rapine, having nothing that can entitle them to humanity but speech. They are very tall and portly, and their very looks and speech shew their savage dispositions, being the most resolute assassins and daring robbers in the world.

The ancient kingdom of Colchis was much larger than Mingrelia now is, extending itself to the lake Mœotis on the one side, and Iberia on the other. The country itself is uneven, full of hills and mountains, valleys and plains. It is almost covered with woods, except the manured lands, which are but few, and those preserved by grubbing up the roots, that are continually spreading into them. The air is temperate, as to heat and cold, but very unwholesome, by reason of the continual wet, which being heated by the sun, breeds pestilences and several other distempers. It abounds with waters, which descend from mount Caucasus, and fall into the Black Sea. The principal rivers are the Caddours, of old called Corax; the Socom, called by Arrian, Terffen, and by Ptolemy, Thassar; the Langus, of old Astulphus; the Cobi, called by Arrian, Cobo; the Cianiscari, called anciently, Cianeus; the Tacheur, called by Arrian, Sigemus, and the Sheniscari, i. e. River-horse, called therefore by the Greeks, Hippos: and the Abascia, called by Arrian, Caries; and Ptolemy, Caritus; which two last mix with the Phasis about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the sea.

The soil is very bad, and produces little corn or pulse, and the fruits are almost wild, without taste, and unwholesome, unless it be their vines, which thrive well there, and produce most excellent wine. The earth is so moist in seed-time, that when they sow their wheat and barley, they never plough it at all, but sprinkle it upon the earth; for they say, that should they plough it, the land would be so soft, that all their corn would fall. They plough their lands for their other corn, with plough shares of wood, which make as good furrows as iron, because their land is very moist and tender. Their common grain is gomm, which is as small as coriander seed, and resembles millet. Of this they make a paste, which they use for bread, and prefer it before wheat; which is not to be wondered at, for it is very acceptable to the palate, and conducive to health, being cooling and laxative. They have also great plenty of millet, some rice, with wheat and barley, but very scarce. The people of quality eat wheaten bread as a rarity, but the meaner sort very seldom or never taste of it.

The ordinary food of the country is beef and pig, of which last they have great plenty, and the best in the world. They have also goat's flesh, but it is lean, and not well tasted. Their wild-fowl is very good, but scarce. Their venison is the wild boar, hart, stag, fallow deer, and hare, all which are excellent food. They have partridges, pheasants, and quails in abundance, with some river fowl and wild pigeons, which are good meat, and as big as a crammed chicken. Their nobility spend their whole time in the field, using lanner-hawks, gos-hawks, hobbies, and others, for their sports, to catch water-fowl and pheasants; but their most delightful pastime is the flight of the falcon at the heron, which they catch only for the tuft upon his crown, to put upon their bonnets; for they let him go again when they have cut it off, that it may grow up anew.

6. Mount Caucasus produceth a great number of wild beasts, as tygers, leopards, lions, wolves, and jacals, which last make great havock amongst their cattle and horses, and often disturb their houses with their dreadful howlings. They have large numbers of horses, and those very good ones, which every man almost keeps in great store, because their keeping stands them in little or nothing, for they neither shoe them, nor feed them with corn. They have no cities nor towns, except two by the

sea-side;

sea-side ; but their houses are so thick up and down the country, that you can hardly travel a mile but you meet with three or four. There are nine or ten castles in the country, of which the chiefest is called Ruis, and it is the court of the Prince. Their houses are all built with timber, which is plentiful, and the poorer sort never raise above one story, nor the rich above two. The lower rooms are always furnished with bed and couches to lie down on or to sit upon, because of the moisture of the earth, but are inconvenient, because they have no windows nor chimneys.

They have but one room for their whole family, and so lie all together. The men are well shaped, and the women so handsome, that they seem born for commanding love. They all paint their eye-brows, and their faces abominably. They dress themselves with all the curiosity they can, their habit being like the Persians, and their head attire like the European women, even to the curling of their hair. They are witty and civil, but to balance that, haughty, deceitful, cruel, and impudent. The men have also as many mischievous qualities, and there is no wickedness to which they are not addicted ; but that which they most practise and delight in is theft. This they make their employment and glory. They justify it as lawful to have many wives ; because, they say, " They bring us many children, which we can sell for ready money, or exchange for necessary conveniences ;" yet, when they have not wherewithal to maintain them, they hold it a piece of charity to murder infants new born, as also they do such as are sick and past recovery ; because, they say, " they free them from a deal of misery."

The gentlemen of this country have full power over the lives and estates of their tenants, to sell and dispose of their wives and children as they think fit, and every countryman is bound to furnish his lord with as much corn, wine, cattle, and other provisions as he wants. The lords decide the quarrels of their vassals ; but if they themselves are at variance, they decide it by arms, which makes them go all armed with a lance, bow, and sword. Their habit is peculiar ; they wear very little beard, and cover their heads with a thin felt cap in summer, and a furred bonnet in winter : over their bodies they wear little shirts, which fall to their knees, and tuck into a strait pair of breeches, ; but they never have above one shirt and one pair of breeches, which last them a year, and in all that time never wash them above thrice, only once or twice a week they shake it (for a certain purpose) over the fire.

The whole family, without distinction, eat all together, both males and females. The King with all his train, to his very grooms, and the Queen with her maids and servants. They dine in the open courts in fair weather, and if it be cold, they make a rousing fire, for wood costs them nothing. <sup>Upon</sup> <sup>working-days</sup> the servants have nothing but gorn, and the masters pulse, dried fish, or flesh ; but on holy-days, or when they make entertainments, they kill a hog, ox, or cow, if they have no venison. They are very great drinkers, both men and women, and at their feasts provoke their friends as much as they can to drinking. They drink their wine pure, and beginning with pints, proceed to much greater quantities. Their discourse at their merry meetings is, with the men, about their wars and robberies, and among their women obscene tales of their amours.

Mingrelia is but thinly peopled, by reason of their wars, and the vast numbers sold to the Persians and Turks by the nobility. All trade in it is driven by way of barter, for they have no set price of money among them ; the species current are piastres, Dutch crowns, and abassis, which are made in Georgia, and stamped with the Persian stamp. The revenues of the Prince of Mingrelia amount at most to twenty thousand crowns, which arises from the customs of goods exported and imported, the slaves he sells, impositions and fines ; and this he lays up, for his slaves serve him for nothing, and



and his crown-lands furnish his court with more provision than he can spend. He is not able to raise above four thousand men fit to bear arms, and those are all cavalry for the most part, for he has not above three hundred foot to join with them. His court, upon solemn festivals, consists of two hundred gentlemen, but upon other days of about one hundred and twenty.

7. The religion of the Colchians was formerly the same with the Greeks, being converted, as the ecclesiastical historians say, in Constantine's time, by a slave: but the Mingrelians say, St. Andrew preached among them in the place called Pigivitas, where now stands a church, whither the Catholicos, or chief bishop, goes once in his life-time to make the oil called myrone by the Greeks; but now the Mingrelians are fallen into a profound abyss of ignorance and darkness, and have not the least idea of faith and religion, but look upon life eternal, the day of judgment, and the resurrection, as mere fables devised by men; nor do their clergy perform any ecclesiastical duties, for there is hardly one of them that can either write or read. They have utterly lost the true knowledge of the service of God; but the priests make a public profession of foretelling things to come, and make the people believe, that their books show them the course of future events.

The Catholicos of Mingrelia is head of all the clergy of that country, as also of Abca, Gureil, Mount Caucasus, and Imeretta; but the Prince appoints or deposes him as he pleaseth. His revenue is very great, for he has four hundred vassals under him, who furnish his house with all things necessary for human life, and many superfluities. He sells their children to the Turks; and when he visits the dioceses under his jurisdiction, it is not to reform the clergy, nor instruct the people, but to spoil them of their goods, and rake together great sums. He will not consecrate a bishop for less than six hundred crowns, nor say a mass for the dead under eight hundred, nor any other mass under one hundred.

The sanctity of this prelate consists in a continual abstinence from flesh and wine in Lent, and in long prayers day and night; but he is so ignorant, that he can hardly read his breviary and missal. He has six bishops under him, who take no care of the souls of their people, nor ever visit their churches and dioceses. They suffer the priests to live in all manner of errors, and the people to contaminate themselves with the grossest vices; they understand not the form of baptism, let polygamy be practised, and permit the mothers to bury their new-born children alive. All their business is in feasting and banqueting, where they are drunk almost every day. They are rich, and go very sumptuously appareled, oppressing their vassals, and selling their wives and children to maintain their luxury. They abstain from flesh as the Greek bishops do, and place the whole Christian religion in the practice of fasting, and think not themselves obliged to do any other duty. Their cathedral is pretty neatly kept, and well adorned with images, which they deck with gold and jewels, believing that in so doing they satisfy God's justice, and atone for their sins. They are clothed in scarlet and velvet, as the seculars are, and differ from them only in this, that they wear their beards long, and their bonnets black, round, and high.

There are also in Mingrelia certain monks of the order of St. Basil, who wear the same habit, and live after the manner of the Greek monks, wearing black bonnets, eating no flesh, and suffering their hair to grow; but they mind nothing of religion, but to observe their fasts exactly. They have also nuns of the same order, who observe their fasting days and wear a black veil, but they have no nunneries, nor are under any vows or subordination, but quit their habit and temperance when they please.

The priests of Mingrelia are very numerous, but a sort of miserable creatures. They till their own ground and the lands of their lords, being no less slaves than the seculars; nor have they any respect shewn them, but when they bless their food at meals, or say mass. Their parish churches have no bells, but they call the people together by knocking with a great stick upon a board, and they are kept as nasty as stables, the images being foul and broken, and covered with dust. The worship which they pay to their images is idolatrous, for they adore them not with a relative adoration, but pay their devotion to the material substance. They worship such most, as are finest adorned, or famed for their cruelty, and if they swear by any of these, they will never break the oath. St. Giobas is one of their most formidable images, and him they will not approach nearer than they can just see him, but pray to him, and leave their present at that distance; for they report, that he kills all that approach him very near.

The Christian saints they have no value for, unless it be St. George, whom they account their chief saint, as do also the Georgians, Muscovites, and Greeks. Their mass is after the Greek manner, and the priests celebrate it without any other sacerdotal habit but their surplices. Their cup or chalice is a goblet of wood, and the cover is of the same matter; and their patten is a wooden dish. In Lent they never say mass but on Saturdays and Sundays, for they hold that the communion spoils their fasting. They consecrate unleavened or leavened bread, without any difference, and never mix water with wine, unless it be very strong.

They laugh at transubstantiation, and say, "How can Christ get into a loaf? for what reason should he leave heaven to come down to the earth?" They anoint the foreheads of their children with the oil called myrone, as soon as they are born; but baptize them not till a long time after, and then they wash them all over with water: but none will baptize their children till he is able to make a feast for the priest, god-fathers, and guests, and that is the reason many of their children die unbaptized. They do not believe that ordination imprints a character not to be defaced; and, therefore, they ordain anew such priests as have been degraded. Their marriages are a contract by way of bargain and sale, for the parents of the maid agree upon the price with the person that desires her; the price of a divorced woman is the least, of a widow something more, but of a maid most. When the bargain is made, the young man may company with the damsel till the money is paid, and it is no scandal if she be with child. If any one has married a barren woman, or of an ill disposition, they hold it not only lawful, but requisite to divorce her, as a match not made by God, who only does good. There is none that understands the Bible, or reads it, but the women will repeat several stories of the Gospel, which they have by tradition. They observe the same fasts almost as the Greeks, for they keep the four great Lents, viz., the first before Easter, which is forty-eight days; that before Christmas, which is forty days; St. Peter's fast, which is near a month; and the last, which the eastern Christians observe in honour of the Virgin Mary, which continues fifteen days. They make the sign of the cross when they drink wine and eat pork, but not as any mark of Christianity. Their prayers are all addressed to their idols for their temporal benefits, viz. their own prosperity, or ruin of their enemies. They offer sacrifices like the Jews and Gentiles. They never make holiday upon Sundays, or abstain from works but at the festivals of Christmas and Easter, which they celebrate only in eating and drinking to excess in their houses. Their greatest festivals are when an idol is carried through their country, when they put on their best cloaths, make a great feast, and get ready a present for



the idol. Their mourning for the dead is altogether barbarous, and like that of people in despair, the women rend their cloaths, tear their hair and flesh, beat their breasts, cry, yell, and gnash with their teeth, like people mad or possessed; the men also tear their cloaths and thump their breasts.

8. Their neighbour nations live and act after the same fashion almost in all respects, only they that live near Persia and Turkey are more civil in their manners, and more honest and just in their inclinations; whereas those that border upon the Tartars and Scythians are more barbarous, having no idea or outward form of religion, and observing no laws.

On the confines of Mingrelia lie the principality of Guriel and kingdom of Imeretta. The country of Guriel is very small, bordering upon Imeretta on the north, Mount Caucasus on the east, Mingrelia on the west, and the Black Sea on the south. It lies all along by the sea-shore from the river Phasis to the castle Gonie, which is held by the Turks. The inhabitants are of the same nature and manners as the Mingrelians, and have the same inclinations to lewdness, robbery, and murder.

The kingdom of Imeretta is something bigger than the country of Guriel, and is the Iberia of the ancients. It is encompassed with mount Caucasus, Colchis, the Black Sea, the principality of Guriel, and part of Georgia. It is twenty-six miles in length, and sixty miles broad. The country is full of woods and mountains, like Mingrelia, but the valleys are more pleasant, and plains more delicious, producing corn, pulse, cattle, and herbs of all sorts. There are some iron mines. They have also some money current among them, which is coined in their kingdom, and several towns; but their manners and customs differ little from the Mingrelians. The King has three good castles, one called Scander, seated on the side of a valley, and two on mount Caucasus, called Regia and Scorgia, being both almost inaccessible, as being built in places that nature itself has wonderfully fortified, the river Phasis running between them. The fortress of Cotatis was once in this Prince's jurisdiction, but the Turks are now masters of it.

— The King of Imeretta governed the Abcas, Mingrelians, and people of Guriel, after they had all four freed themselves from the power of the Emperors, first of Constantinople, and then of Trebisond: but in the last age, setting up for themselves, and revolting from one another, they were involved in continual wars among themselves, till calling in the assistance of the Turks, they were all made tributary to them. The King of Imeretta pays eighty boys and girls, from ten to twenty years of age. The Prince of Guriel pays forty-six children of both sexes; and the Prince of Mingrelia sixty thousand ells of linen cloth made in that country. The Abcas seldom paid any thing at first, and now pay nothing. The King of Imeretta and Prince of Guriel send their tribute to the basha of Akalzike, but a chiaux gathers it at Mingrelia.

9. Leaving Isagour, October 4, he passed by the mouth of the river Astolphus, called Langur by the Mingrelians, one of the biggest rivers in Mingrelia, and on the 5th came to Anarghia, a village two miles from the sea, consisting of two hundred houses, but so far distant the one from the other, that it is two miles from the first to the last. Hither the Turks come to buy slaves, and have barks ready to carry them away. It is thought, that the fair and large city, called Heraclea, stood in the same place. At this town there is plenty of provisions, and that very cheap, viz. wild pigeons, fowl, porkers, and goats in abundance, and wine plentiful. From Anarghia he sailed up the river Astolphus, and went to a place called Sapias, which is the name of two little churches, of which the one is a parish church of Mingrelia, and the other belongs to the Theatins, a sort of friars, who first came into Mingrelia in

1627, and were admitted there as physicians, and have built themselves several apartments about it, after the manner of the country. They have some slaves, and two families of country people their tenants. They have good employment as physicians, but none will embrace their religion, their very slaves refusing to communicate in their services; so that they would have long since left the country, had it not been for the honour of the Roman church and their own order.

After a month's stay with the monks, it not being safe to travel because of the troubles of the country, he returned again to Anarghia, and having hired a Turkish feluke, for Gonie, November the 10th, staid till the 27th to take in loading and passengers. While he staid here he was invited to two christenings, and curiosity engaged him to be present at them. The manner was this: the priest being sent for about ten o'clock in the morning, sat himself down in the buttry, and fell to reading a book half torn, about the bigness of a New Testament, in octavo. He read very fast, and with a low voice, in such a careless manner, as if he regarded not what he did, any more than the rest did what he said, for the father, godfather, and child, who was about five years old, went to and again all the time.

When the priest had read an hour, there was a bucket of warm water got ready, into which when the priest had poured about a spoonful of oil of walnuts, he bid the godfather undress the child; which done, he set him upon his feet in the water, and washed his body all over well, and then the priest gave him a small quantity of myrror, or oil of unction, with which he anointed the top of his head, ears, forehead, nose, cheeks, chin, shoulders, elbows, back, belly, knees, and feet, the priest still reading till the godfather dressed the child, and then the father bringing in wine, bread, and pork, they all sat down to eat and drink, and were all extremely drunk before they parted. Their mass they perform with the same irreverence and carelessness.

Departing from Anarghia in fair and clear weather, he discovered the high lands of Trebisond on the one side, and of the Abcas on the other, and came to the river Kelmhel, which though not so broad nor rapid as Langur, yet is deeper.

10. On the 30th he came to the river Phasis, which, taking its rise in mount Caucasus, runs at first in a narrow channel, though swiftly, about Cotatis, and sometimes so low that it is easily fordable; but where it dischargeth itself into the sea, which is about ninety miles from Cotatis, the channel is a mile and a half broad, and sixty fathoms deep, being augmented in that course by divers streams. The water is muddy and thick, but very good to drink. There are several islands at the mouth of it, which being covered with thick woods, make a delightful prospect. Arrian says, that upon one of these islands stood the temple of Rhea, but there are no remains of it now, though there are some historians who say, it was standing in the time of the Grecian empire, and was, in Zeno's reign dedicated to the worship of Christ. On this river, and the Black Sea about it, are plenty of pheasants, or phasiani, so called from the river Phasis. All the coasts of this river are a low sandy soil, covered with woods so thick that one can hardly see six paces up the land.

On the 30th he arrived at Gonie, which is about thirty miles from Phasis, the sea-coasts being exceeding high land and rocks, some being woody, and others naked. Gonie is a large castle, in the territories of the Prince of Guriel, built four square, of hard and rough stones of a very large size. It hath no trenches, but walls only, and two great guns. In it are about thirty small poor houses, made of boards, and without is a small village of about as many more, all inhabited by mariners, and other boorish people. There is a custom-house here, the officers whereof are extremely rude, and imperious, and severe to the people of the country, but extravagant to the Europeans,





Mountains of Caucasus.

not regarding any man's person, nor any recommendations from the Porte, but searching all things strictly, and exacting what they please.

From Gorie he went to the castle of Akalzike. The way lies over Mount Caucasus, which is one of the highest mountains, and one of the most difficult to pass over in the world. The top is always covered with snow, over which the natives pass in a kind of sandals, made flat like a racket, to keep them from sinking. It is usual for the guides here to make long prayers to their images to keep the winds from rising, for if the wind be high, it buries all the travellers in snow.

This mountain, though not inhabited for some leagues together in many places, yet is fruitful to the very top, yielding honey, wheat, grain, wine, and fruits, and feeding hogs and large cattle. The vines are so luxuriant, that they run up to the very tops of their highest trees, so that the people cannot gather them. The country people dwell in wooden huts, of which every family has four or five. The women grind their corn as they want it, and bake their bread on stones, or upon their hearth, and yet the crust is very white, and the bread good. These inhabitants are for the most part Christians, after the Georgian ceremonies; they are fresh complexioned, and their women are handsome. At the bottom of the hill is a very fair valley, rich and fertile, being watered by the river Kur, which has many villages, and in them the ruins of several castles and churches, which, the people say, were destroyed by the Turks.

Akalzike is a fortress built upon mount Caucasus, fortified with double walls, and flanked with towers built with battlements, after the ancient manner, and defended with a few great guns. Upon little hillocks about it stands a large town of 400 houses, which have nothing of antiquity, but two Armenian churches. It is inhabited by Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, and Jews, who have their churches and synagogues. The river Kur, anciently called Cyrus and Corus, which rises in the Mount Caucasus, runs by it. A basha lodges in the fortress, and his soldiers are quartered in the adjacent villages. It was built by the Georgians, from whom the Turks took it.

From Akalzike he went to Gory, and passed by Usker, where the Turks have a castle built on a rock, with a garrison and custom-house, under the command of a Sanziac, and two leagues farther, you cross over the mountains which part Persia and Turkey, from whence you see several villages, in which are the ruins of many castles, fortresses, and churches, and the miserable remains of the grandeur of the Georgians, before the Turkish and Persian wars destroyed them.

At the foot of the mountain lie a town and fortress, both called Surham. It stands on a very lovely plain, full of censures, villages, hillocks, houses of pleasure, and little castles belonging to the Georgian lords, and has a fortress containing a garrison of 100 men. All the country is very well tilled, and mighty pleasant and delightful as far as Gory, except that on the right hand lies a great city almost in ruins, as not containing above 500 houses inhabited, whereas formerly, by report, it had 12,000.

Gory is a small city, seated on a plain between two mountains, upon the banks of the river Kur, and by it is a castle on a hill, garrisoned by native Persians. The houses and market-places are all built with earth, but the people are all very rich and wealthy, and it is furnished with all necessaries for human life at a cheap rate.

11. From Gory he departed, December the 16th, and travelling upon the banks of the river Kur, through pleasant plains, with great numbers of villages on all hands, he passed through Calicala, a city almost totally ruined, and came on the 17th to Teflis, the capital city of that part of Georgia, lying in the province of Carthueli. The country of Georgia, which is under the jurisdiction of the Persians, borders at this day to the east



east upon Circassia and Muscovy, to the west upon Armenia the Lesser, and to the north upon the Black Sea and the kingdom of Imeretta. It is extended from Tauris and Erzerom to Tanais, and was anciently called Albania. It is a country very woody and mountainous, unless in the middle, where it is more even and level. The river Kur runs through the midst of it, and empties itself into the Caspian Sea.

The Grecians are thought by some to have called it Georgia, from Georgoi, husbandman; but others will have the name derived from St. George, the patron saint of all the Christians of the Greek church. The temper of the air is very kindly in Georgia, being very dry, cold in the winter, and hot in the summer. The fair weather does not begin till May, but then it lasts till the end of November. The soil being well watered, produces all sorts of grain, herbs, and fruits in abundance, so that a man may live there deliciously and cheap. Cattle are there very plentiful and good, as well the larger as lesser sort; their fowl is incomparable, especially their wild fowl; their boar's flesh is as plentiful and good as any in Colchis; and, indeed, the common people live upon nothing else almost but young pigs, which are excellent meat, and never offend the stomach. The Caspian Sea, which is next to Georgia, and the Kur, that runs quite through it, supplies it with all sorts of salt and fresh fish. There is no country that drinks more and better wine, and they transport great quantities of it into Media, Armenia, and to Ispahan, for the King's table. They have great quantities of silk, but know not how to weave it, and therefore they carry it into Turkey to Erzerom, and the parts adjoining, and drive a great trade with it. The complexion of the Georgians is most beautiful, you can scarce see an ill-favoured person among them; and the women are so exquisitely handsome, that it is hardly possible to look upon them, and not be in love with them. They are tall, clean limbed, plump and full, but not over fat, and extremely slender in the waist; but this beauty they spoil with painting and dressing, with sumptuous habits and jewels. The Georgians are naturally very witty, and would be as learned men and great artists as any are in the world, if they had the improvements of arts and sciences; but having a mean education and bad examples, they are drowned in vice, are cheats and knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful, and proud. They are irreconcilable in their enmities; for though they are not easily provoked, yet they preserve their hatred inviolable.

Drunkennes and luxury are such common vices among them, that they are not scandalous in Georgia. The church-men will be as drunk as others; and they keep male slaves in their houses, which they use for their concubines, at which no body is offended, because it is so commonly practised, that custom makes it thought lawful; yea, and they say, he that is not drunk at their great festivals of Easter and Christmas, cannot be a good Christian, and deserves to be excommunicated. The Georgians are very great usurers, and will lend no money without a pawn. The lowest interest they take is two per cent. for a month. The women are as vicious and as wicked as the men, and contribute more than they to that general debauchery which overflows the country. In their common conversation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate. Their habit is much like the Polonian, and their bonnets like theirs, their vests are open before down the breast, and fastened with buttons and loops; their hose and shoes are like the Persians, and their women's cloathing is wholly in the same taste.

The houses of their grandees, and all their public edifices, are built according to the Persian model, and they imitate the Persians in their sitting at table, in their beds, and manner of diet. The nobility exercise an absolute tyranny over the people, who are their vassals, making them labour as long as they please for them, without food or wages, challenging a right over their estates, liberty, and lives, and selling their children.

children, or making them their own slaves. They were converted to Christianity by an Iberian woman, in the fourth age, but have nothing left of Christianity but the name; for they do not observe the least precept of Jesus Christ; they place all their religion in fasting, and making long prayers.

There are several bishops in Georgia, with a patriarch, whom they call Catholicos, and an archbishop, whose sees, as often as they are vacant, are disposed of by the Prince, though he be a Mahometan, and he generally gives them to his relations, and the present patriarch is his brother. The churches in Georgia, especially in their cities, are kept something more cleanly than in Mingrelia, but in the villages are full as nasty. The Georgians and their neighbours build their churches upon high mountains, in remote and inaccessible places, and bow unto them at great distances, but scarce go into them once in ten years, leaving them to the injuries of the weather, and for the birds to build their nests in. They can give no other reason for all this, but that it is a custom; though we may suppose, it is rather to avoid repairing and adorning them. Georgia was made tributary to the Persians by Ishmael the Great, and though it has several times revolted, yet still continues in subjection to them.

The city of Teflis, the capital city of East Georgia, is one of the fairest cities in all the King of Persia's dominions, though not so big as some. It is seated at the bottom of a mountain, and on the eastern side of it runs the river Kur, which rising in the mountains of Georgia, joins itself to the Araxes. The most part of houses built by the river-side, stand upon a rock, and the whole city is encompassed with strong and beautiful walls, except on the side next the river, and is defended by a fortress on the south side, wherein are none but native Persians. This fortress is a sanctuary for all manner of criminals.

Teflis has in it fourteen churches, which is very much in a country where there is so little devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the Georgian service, and maintained by them, and the other eight belong to the Armenians. The cathedral called Sion is built all of hewn stone, and stands on the bank of the river. It is an ancient building, in good repair, composed of four bodies, and has a great duomo in the middle. The great altar stands in the middle of the church, and the inside is full of paintings, after the Greek manner. The Armenians have also several monasteries here; in one of them, they say, they have St. George's skull.

There is not any mosque in Teflis, though it be under a Mahometan Prince, and though the Persians have attempted to build one several times, they could never accomplish their design, for the people mutinied and beat down their work; which action, though very affronting to the Persian religion, yet the Emperor of Persia is afraid to come to any extremities with them, lest they should revolt to their neighbours the Turks, and so Teflis and all Georgia enjoy their liberty to retain almost all the exterior marks of their religion; for, on the top of all the steeples of their churches stands a cross, and in them they have bells, which they often ring. Every day they sell pork openly, as well as other victuals, and wine, at the corners of the streets, which vexes the Persians to see, but they cannot help it. Some few years since they built a mosque in the fortress, and the Georgians could not prevent it; but when the priest, after their custom, came up to the top, to make profession of his faith, and call the Mahometans to prayers, the people so plied him with volleys of stones, that he was forced to fly down in haste, and never dared to appear there any more.

The public buildings, viz. their market-places, inns, and magazines, are well built of stone, and kept in good repair. The Prince's palace is a noble and beautiful building, being



being adorned with halls and rooms of state, gardens, aviaries, and spacious courts, to which the viceroy of Caket's palace is not much inferior.

The out parts of the city are adorned with several houses of pleasure, and many beautiful gardens, of which the Prince's is the biggest; but the trees are such only as serve for shade and coolness.

The Capuchins, who were sent into Georgia about the year 1557, by the Pope, have an habitation in this city, as also at Gory, where they are highly esteemed as physicians, which is the title they give themselves, but they make very little progress in the conversion of the Georgians; for besides that these people are very ignorant, and take little care to instruct themselves, it is so rivetted into their heads, that fasting, as they observe it, is the essential part of the Christian religion, that they do not believe the Capuchins to be Christians, though they fast as they do, because they are informed, they do it not in Europe.

The city of Teflis is very well peopled, and there are as many strangers resort thither as to any place in the world, for there is a great trade driven there, and the court is very numerous and magnificent, becoming the capital city of a province. The Georgians do not call it Teflis, but Cala, i. e. The Fortrefs, which is a name they give to all habitations encompassed with walls, and some geographers call it, Tebele-Cala, or the hot city, either by reason of the hot baths, or because the air there is not so cold and boisterous as in other parts of Georgia.

12. On the 28th he departed from Teflis, and passing through Sogan-lou, or the place of onions, standing upon the river Kur, came to Kupri-Kent, or the village of the bridge, because there is a very fair bridge over the river Tabadi, in the arches of which are made little chambers and porticos, and in every one of them a chimney, on purpose to lodge strangers, and in the middle ones balconies, to take the cool air in the summer; Melick-Kent, or the royal village, and so to Dely-Jan, a village of 300 houses, seated upon the river Acalstapha, which runs at the foot of a high and dreadful mountain, part of Mount Taurus. Here is plenty of water, and the ground is very fertile, and a great many villages to be seen on every side, some of which stood so high upon the points of the rocks, that they were almost indiscernible. They are inhabited by Georgian and Armenian Christians, but not intermixed, because they have such an inveterate enmity one against another, that they cannot live together in the same villages. The most part of the houses of these villages are no better than caverns or hollow places made in the earth; the rest are built with timber, and covered with turf.

These sort of buildings are very convenient, being cool in summer, and warm in winter. The borough of Dely-Jan, and all the country round about for six leagues, is governed by its own natural Princes, from father to son, and holds of Persia as Georgia does. It is called the country of Casac, the people being stout and fierce, descended from the Cosaques, who inhabit the mountains on the north-east of the Caspian Sea, and is at present under a Prince called Kamshi-Can. He lodged at Kara-Phifhith, a large borough, seated at the bottom of the mountains which separate Georgia from Armenia. It stands on the banks of the river Zengui, and passing Bichni, where there is an Armenian monastery, our author arrived at Erivan, Jan. 7, 1673.

13. Erivan is a great city, but dirty. The vineyards and gardens make the greatest part of it, there being no ornamental buildings in it. It is situated in a plain, encompassed with mountains on every side, between two rivers, the Zengui and Queurk-boulack. The fortrefs itself may pass for a small city, containing 800 houses, inhabited by Persians only; for though the Armenians have shops there to work and trade in in the

day-time, yet they return to their houses in the evening. It is surrounded with three walls of earth, and brick made of clay, with battlements, and flanked with towers, and strengthened with ramparts, according to the custom of the ancients, and in it is constantly maintained a garrison of 2000 men. The governor of the province's palace is within this castle, and is a very spacious and delightful place in summer.

The city stands about a cannon-shot from the fortrefs, but the space between is filled up with houses and market-places, which are such pitiful structures, that they may be removed in one day. There are several churches in this city, of which the episcopal see, called Ircou-ye-rize, and Catovike are the chief; the rest are small, sunk deep in the earth. Near the episcopal church is an old tower, built of free-stone, of antique work, with several inscriptions, but none can read them; nor is it known when, by whom, or for what use it was built. At a little distance from it is the Grand Meidan, or great market-place, 400 paces square, where they use all exercises, both for horse and foot, as carousals, racings, wrestling, and managing of horses for war. There are many baths and fair inns in it. The air is good, but a little thick and cold, for their winter lasts long, and they have snow sometimes in April. The country is very delightful and fertile, and produces fruits in great plenty, especially wine, which is there good and cheap.

The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah planted his vineyard near Erivan, and some pretend to shew the place, about a small league from the city. The river and lake, which is twenty-five leagues in compass, furnish the city with excellent fish of nine sorts, of which the trouts and carps are famous all over the East. In the midst of the lake is a small island, where stands a monastery, whose prior is an archbishop, and takes upon him the title of patriarch, refusing to acknowledge the grand patriarch. The Armenians hold this city to be the most anciently inhabited place in the world; for they affirm, that Noah and all his family dwelt there, both before the deluge, and after he came out of the ark, and that the earthly paradise was there. But all this is a story without foundation, reported by persons equally ignorant and vain-glorious.

Two leagues from Erivan stands the famous monastery of the Three Churches, the sanctuary of the Armenian Christians. The Armenians call it Ecs-miazin, which name also the principal church bears. It is a substantial but dark structure, all built of large freestone. The monks shew several relics preserved in it, as a finger of St. Peter, and two of St. John the Baptist, a rib of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, and an arm of St. Gregory, &c. but they must be very credulous and superstitious that can believe them such. The two other churches that stood near this are St. Caiana and St. Repsima, the names of two Roman virgins who fled into Armenia, as they say, in the ninth persecution, and suffered martyrdom in the same places where those churches stand.

Within the territory of Erivan, which reaches about twenty leagues round it, there are twenty-three convents for men, and five for women, which are so poor, that being continually employed in getting a livelihood, they never perform holy duties but upon holidays. They hold the opinions of the Monophysites, but in other points are very ignorant. Two leagues from Erivan eastward, is to be seen the famous mountain where Noah's ark is said to have rested. The Armenians hold, that the ark is still upon the top of the mount called Maus, but that no man can ascend to it. The governor of Erivan is a Beglerbeg, i. e. a lord of lords, and has also the title of serdar, or general of the army. His revenue is 32,000 tomans, which is above 112,000 l. sterling a year, besides fines, presents, and indirect ways of enriching himself, which amount to 50,000 l. more.

14. While he staid at Erivan, he saw a wedding of the governor's steward's brother. Matrimony in Persia is very expensive, so that only men of estates will venture upon



it, lest it prove their ruin. The meaner sort content themselves with a concubine or slave. The Mahometans that follow the tenets of Haly, take their wives after three manners, viz. by purchase, hire, or marriage. All these ways their religion allows, and the civil law acknowledges the children born in any of them legitimate. The wives who are slaves are called Canize. Of these the law allows a man as many as he can maintain, and takes no cognizance how they are used. He is master of their chastity, yea, of their lives, and it is their honour to serve their master as his wives. The hired wives are called Moutaa: of these also a man may take as many as he pleaseth, and as long as he pleaseth, for the price agreed on, and at the end of the term they may part with them, or renew the bargain. A handsome young maid at Ispahan may be hired for 35*l.* a year, besides cloaths, diet, and lodging. If any break off before the end of the term, he must pay the whole sum contracted for, and the woman, after dismissal, must tarry forty days before she lets herself to another. These days they call the days of purification.

The espoused wives are called Nekaa, and of these the Mahometan religion allows a man to marry four; but they never marry above one, to avoid expence and disorder, for every one will command, and their mutual jealousy causes a perpetual confusion; wherefore, if they cannot content themselves with one woman, they use their slaves. In Persia they usually marry by proxy, because the man never sees his wife till after he has consummated the marriage, which sometimes he does not till several days after his wife has been at home. One would think, that this way of marrying should produce unfortunate matches; but it doth not, for marriages are not more happy in any country than this. If either of the parties dislike one another, and resolve to unmarry themselves, the Mahometan religion permits a divorce, and they may separate either before a judge or a churchman, giving each other a talaac or bill of divorce, and then the parties are at liberty to marry again where they please themselves.

Upon this dissolution of their marriage, if the man has sued the divorce, he is obliged to return the woman her dowry; yet if the woman sought it, she loseth her portion; but if the persons repent the act, they may renew the marriage again three times: yet, the Persians rarely make use of this license to part with their wives, only some citizens and tradesmen make their advantage of it. Persons of quality count it so dishonourable, that they will rather die than divorce their wives, and the meanest sort cannot part with the portion, and so if they desire a divorce, which is rare, they effect it by ill-using their wives, to force them to sue for a divorce, and thereby sacrifice all to their liberty.

The Armenian patriarch lives in this city, and has an episcopal palace. He, with all the rest of his clergy, is much addicted to simony, as are also all the Eastern sects. Their chief gain lies in selling the oil called myrone, at a dear rate, which they teach the people to believe is a remedy that physically cures all the distempers of the soul, and confers the grace of regeneration and remission of sins, saying, that in baptism it is the oil, not the water, which is the matter prescribed. The patriarch consecrates this oil, and sells it to the bishops and priests, who get great sums by it.

15. April the 8th he parted from Erivan, and travelling through a country somewhat hilly, but full of villages, came first to Daivin, and then to Kainer, leaving the mountain of Noah on the right hand. On the 10th he went on the same road, which led him through a fertile and fair country, and leaving Sederec, a great town, and the capital of the province of Armenia, called Charour, where the Sultan resides, came through Nouratchin, and over the river Harpafony to Nacchivan, which is thought to be the ancient Artaxate. It is now little else but a heap of ruins, not containing above two thousand houses which are inhabited, and those in the heart of the city, with inns,

baths, and other public houses, where they sell tobacco and coffee, whereas formerly the Persian history assures us, that it contained forty thousand.

Five leagues to the north lies a great city, called Abrener, i. e. the fertile field, and seven others near to it, all whose inhabitants are Papists, and their bishops and curates Dominicans, who perform their church service in the Armenian language. These towns were brought into subjection to the Pope by an Italian Dominican of Bologna. Twenty villages more acknowledged the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but are returned to their first religion, and their obedience to the Armenian patriarch; and it is not likely that the rest can hold out long, for the governors of the province use them violently, and lay heavy impositions upon them, for withdrawing from their jurisdiction.

From Nacchivan, he passed to old Julpha, through a dry stony country, where there is nothing to be seen but hills of stones. It is a ruined city, and thought by some authors to be the ancient Ariammene. It is said to have contained four thousand houses, though the ruins do not shew above half so many. At present there is nothing but holes and caverns in the mountains, fitter for beasts than men to live in.

This city was ruined by Abas the Great, for the same reason as Nacchivan, viz. to hinder the invasions of the Turks for want of provisions. By Julpha runs the river Araxes, which separates Armenia from Media. It rises in the mountain where Noah's ark is said to have rested, from which perhaps it takes its name, and empties itself into the Caspian Sea. It is very large, and of so rapid a course, especially when it is swelled by the thaws of the snows that come down from the mountains, that no bridges can stand upon it, nor dams resist its force, and the noise of the waters astonishes the ears of the beholders.

16. Media, which formerly ruled all Asia with an imperial dominion, at present makes but one part of a province, though the largest in the Persian empire, called Azerbeyan or Asapaican. It borders on the east upon the Caspian Sea and Hyrcania, on the south upon Parthia, on the west upon Araxes and the Upper Armenia, of which Assyria is a part, and on the north on Dagestan, which is that mountainous country that borders upon the Muscovite Cossacks, and part of Mount Taurus. The Persians affirm, that the name of Azerbeyan implies, the country of fire, by reason of the famous temple of fire which was there erected, where was kept that fire which the fire-worshippers hold to be a god. Nimrod is said first to have brought in this worship, and there is a certain sect called Guebres which still maintain it.

From Julpha he travelled through a country full of little hills, leaving a spacious plain upon the left hand, where many bloody battles between the Turks and Persians were fought, and particularly that between Selim, the son of Solymán the Great, and Ishmael the Great, to Alacou, and from thence, through a more even country, to Marant, a very fair town, consisting of about two thousand five hundred houses, and which has so many gardens as take up as much ground as the houses. It is seated at the bottom of a mountain, at the end of a plain, watered by the little river Zelou-lou, from which the people have drawn several cuts into their grounds and gardens.

In the places adjoining grow plenty of fruits, the best in all Media; but that which is most peculiar to these parts, is this, that here they gather cochineal, though in no great quantities, nor for any longer time than only eight days in summer, when the sun is in Leo; for before that time, the people say, it doth not come to maturity; and after the worm, from which they draw the cochineal, makes a hole in the leaf in which it grows, it is lost. The Persians call cochineal kermis, from kerm, which signifies a worm, because it is extracted out of worms. The Armenians have a tradition, that Noah lies buried here.



17. From thence he travelled among the mountains to Sophian, a little village full of rivulets and gardens, and fruitful to a wonder, and so he went to Tauris, which is fifty-three Persian leagues from Erivan. This city is very large and potent, being the second in Persia in dignity, grandeur, riches, trade, and number of inhabitants. It is neither walled nor fortified, and the little river Spingtcha runs across it, which sometimes carries away the houses on the side of it, and makes dreadful havock. On the north-side runs the river Agi, or the salt river, whose water is made salt by the little rivulets, which passing through the salt marshes, fall into it, and so can nourish no fish. It is divided into nine wards, and has fifteen thousand houses, and as many shops in their market-places, among which are three hundred inns, and some so large, as to lodge three hundred people, and many cabarets for coffee, tobacco, and strong liquors. There are three hundred and fifty mosques, three hospitals, which relieve the poor with victuals twice a day, and a fair hermi, called Hali's eye.

The inhabitants have been formerly computed to be five hundred and fifty thousand. This city is full of strangers, who come hither to trade from all parts of Asia, because it is full of all sorts of merchandize, and abounds with artists in cotton, silk and gold. The fairest turbans in Persia are made here; and it is said, there are six thousand bales of silk consumed in this manufacture. The air of Tauris is good, healthy, and dry, but the cold continues long, because it is exposed to the north, and the snow lies nine months in the year upon the mountains; the winds blow every day, morning and evening, and rains often fall.

It abounds with all things necessary for human support, as corn, fish from the Caspian Sea, venison, and other wild beasts. Bread may be bought there at three pounds a penny, and flesh at three halfpence a pound. There are said to grow no less than 60 sorts of grapes in and about Tauris. Near it is a quarry of white marble, a mine of gold, and another of salt. There are several mineral waters, all sulphureous, of which some are cold, and others boiling hot. Most of our geographers of best note, as Ortelius, Ananias, Molets, &c. are of opinion, that this city is the ancient and celebrated Ecbatana, so frequently mentioned in holy writ, and in the ancient history of Asia, but there are no remains of the magnificent palace of Ecbatan, where the monarchs of Asia kept their courts in summer, nor of Daniel's, to justify this notion.

From Tauris he travelled first to Vaspinge, a great borough, surrounded with gardens and groves of poplars and tylets, and watered with several brooks, which make it very pleasant; then to Agi-agach, by which are the plains which afford the best pastures in all Media, and perhaps in the whole world, where the choicest horses in the whole province are put to grass from April to June, to purge, refresh, fatten and strengthen them. These plains are the Hippopothon of the ancients, of which they write that the Kings of Media kept here a breed of fifty thousand horses.

The road from hence leads by several circles of large hewn stones, which the Persians affirm to be the places where the Caous or giants, when they made wars in Media, held their councils, it being a custom among these people, that every officer that came to the council brought with him a stone, to serve him instead of a chair, and so carries you over hills and dales, all fruitful and delightful, to admiration, through Turiman, so called, because that in the fields about it there is a great number of shepherds with their flocks, that are called by that name, to Purvare, an handsome large village at the bottom of an hill, and upon the banks of a little river.

From thence he proceeded in his journey, and crossing the river Miana several times, by reason of its windings, passed through the town of the same name adjoining, both so called because they part Media from Parthia, and ascended a ridge of mountains, which

which are a branch of mount Taurus, at the top of which stands a castle, called the Virgin's Castle, because Artaxerxes is said to have built it on purpose to imprison a princess of the blood.

As soon as you have passed these mountains, and the river Kefil-buefe, which is at the foot of them, you perceive a change of the air; for whereas Media is moist and cloudy, subject to high winds and much rain, the Parthian air is dry to the highest degree, without clouds or rain for six months sometimes, and the soil sandy, so that nothing will thrive without good husbandry and pains.

18. Parthia, which was so long the seat of the empire of Asia, is now a large province of the Persian monarchy. It is the proper demesnes of the Shah, and therefore has no governor, as the rest of the provinces. It is extended 200 leagues in length, and 150 in breadth, being bounded by the province of Chorassan on the east; by Fars, which is properly Persia, on the south, by Azarbeyan or Media on the west, and Guilan or Mezanderan, which compose the province of Hyrcania, on the north.

The air is dry, and though the mountains produce nothing but thistles and briers, yet the plains are fruitful and pleasant, where there is water. This province has above forty cities, which is much in Persia, because it is not peopled according to its extent. The Parthians took their original from the Scythians, who were the Tartars, who now inhabit the north of Persia, called Uzbeks, and formerly Bactrians. The first village you come at is Zerigan, which is famed for its antiquity, being founded, according to the Persian records, in the reign of Ardechir-babazon, several ages before Christ, and then passing over delightful plains, you come to Sultany.

This city is seated at the foot of a mountain. It seems afar off a very neat well-built place, but does not appear so when you are within it; yet some of the public buildings are very remarkable, both for the materials and architecture. It contains about three thousand houses, and besides, there are very vast ruins, which makes it probable, that it was once the largest city of the kingdom, as their histories relate. Provisions are very plentiful and cheap there, and the air wholesome, though very changeable, the mornings, evenings, and nights being very cold, and days hot. It is said to be the most ancient city in Parthia. The predecessors of Ishmael Sophi, and the last Armenian Kings, resided there, and then it is said, that it contained four hundred Christian churches; but being demolished by Tamerlane, and several other Turkish and Tartarian Princes, the Christians have deserted it.

From hence he travelled through a lovely country, and passing through several villages, surrounded with meadows, and groves of willow and poplar, he came to Ebher, a small city for the buildings, as containing not above 2,500 houses, but taking up a large extent of ground, because they have so many large gardens. A small river runs through the midst of it. It is thought to be anciently called Barontha. The situation is delightful, the air wholesome, and soil plentiful. It is governed by a darogue, or mayor; and the Mirtsheki-bashi has his tahvil, or salary, charged upon the revenue of this city. The Persian geographers assert, that this city was built by Kei-Cofrou, and that Darab-Reihoni, or Darius, began to build the castle; and that Skender-Roumi, i. e. Alexander the Great, finished it. At Ebher they begin to speak the Persian language, which is spoken all the way to the Indies, more or less pure, as the people are more or less distant from Schiras, where it is spoken in the greatest perfection.

19. From Ebher he travelled to Persac, leaving Casbin five leagues on the left hand. This great city stands in a delightful plain, three leagues from Mount Alou-



vent, one of the highest and most famous mountains in Persia. It is six miles in circumference, containing 12,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, of which there are forty families of Christians, and one hundred Jews, but all very poor. It was formerly walled, but they are now all fallen down. The chiefest ornament and grace of Casbin is the King's palace, and the great number of the seats of the Persian grandees, who attend upon the court, which has its continual residence there. There are but few mosques in Casbin, but the royal mosque, called Metshid-sha, is one of the largest and fairest in all Persia. This city has no great plenty of water, but it is supplied, with all it has, by subterraneous channels called Keisees.

The air is thick, and not very healthful, and the soil dry and sandy, yet it abounds with meat, and all manner of provisions, which are brought thither from the countries adjoining, which having many well-watered plains, feed a world of cattle, and produce prodigious quantities of corn. The fairest grape in Persia, called shahoni, or the royal grape, being of a gold colour, and transparent, of which the strongest and most delicious wine in the world is made, grows here. The air is very hot in summer all the day long, but the nights are so cold, that if a man expose himself never so little to the air, after he is undressed, he is sure to fall sick. Some of our European geographers affirm it to have been the city, which the Greeks called Ragea, or Rages, afterwards Europa and Arfacia, and now Casbin, from a King of that name. It is governed by a darogue, or mayor, chosen every year, whose office is worth to him 600 tomans, or 2000 pounds.

Having passed Casbin, he came to Kaiare, and having lodged there, travelled the next night (for that is the general way of travelling all over the east, to avoid the heat of the sun, which would hurt both man and beast in the day-time) by Segs-abad, which signifies the habitation of dogs, to Sava, a great city, seated in a sandy and barren plain. It is two miles in circuit, and walled round, but so miserably built, that, unless it be in the midst, it runs to ruin for want of inhabitants. The histories of Persia unanimously agree, that the whole plain of Sava was formerly a salt marsh, or lake; but how it was dried is not certainly known: some fabulously report, that Haly, Mahomet's son-in-law, drained it by a miracle, and to preserve the memory of it, the people built this city in the midst of it.

19. Just over against Sava, eastward, at four leagues distance, stands a place of pilgrimage, most famous for the devotion of the Persians. They call it Echmouil, that is to say, Samuel; for they believe, that this prophet was there interred, and over his tomb is built a most sumptuous mausolæum, in the midst of a magnificent mosque. Over-against it is still to be seen some remnants of the city of Rey, which is reported to have been once the biggest city of Asia, next to Babylon. The Persian histories relate, that it was divided into ninety-six quarters, every one of which had forty-six streets, and every street 400 houses, and ten mosques; that there were in it 6,400 colleges, 16,600 baths, 15,000 towers of mosques, 12,000 mills, 1,700 channels, and 13,000 inns, and people almost numberless.

The chronicles of the Magi make Chus, the grand-child of Noah, to be founder of it; and Ptolemy calls it Raquaia; but the vulgar opinion is, that it was founded by Housheing Pishdadi, or the chief justiciary, and enlarged by Marrouthher, his successor. It was destroyed by the Mahometans, who being divided into two sects, viz. of Shia and Sunnis, made war one upon the other for sixty years together. The sect of Sunnis called in the assistance of the Tartars, and, by their help, bore down the sect of Shia. In these wars the Tartars, by their frequent incursions, destroyed the potent city of Rey,

Rey, and reduced it to nothing before the 600th year of their Hegyra. The soil about it is fertile and pleasant, and produces great plenty of fruits; but the air is unhealthy, making the skin swarthy, and breeding agues.

Departing from hence, he passed by a hill, called Couh-Telism, which has this remarkable and peculiar to it; that as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it shews a different form, and varies both in its bigness and figure; that the top or point of it is always in sight, and you would think, that it turned that side, which way soever you stood to look upon it. It consists of a black earth, that crumbles like that of the burning mountains; but it is not known to have vomited fire. The people of the country say, that they that ascend that mountain never come back again.

20. Having passed it, he came to Com, a large city, seated in a plain, by a river-side. It contains 15,000 houses, as the people say, and is surrounded with a moat and wall, flanked with towers, but half ruined. On the river-side are two fair keys, and at the east of the city a fine bridge. It contains many large and beautiful market-places, both for wholesale and retail: though it be a city of no great trade, yet they export large quantities of fruit, dried and raw, and particularly pomegranates; soap, sword-blades, and earthen ware, both white and varnished, which hath this peculiar property, that it cools the water in summer both wonderfully and suddenly, by reason of its continual transpiration. It contains a great number of fair inns, mausolæums and mosques, wherein the grand-children and descendants of Ali, which are the Persian saints, called Yman-Zade, sons of the apostles, lie interred. One of these mosques is the most celebrated in the east: it has four courts, of which the first is planted with trees and flowers, like a garden, with terraces on each side; the second is not so beautiful as this, but the third is nothing inferior to it, being surrounded with apartments two stories high, and having a terrace, portico and canal. In the fourth are the chambers and lodgings for the priests, governors and students, that live upon the revenues of the sacred place. Fronting these courts stand the body of the structure, consisting of three great chapels upon a line. To the middlemost belongs a portal, eighteen feet high, of white marble. The top is a large half-duomo, overlaid without with large square china tiles, painted with morefco work, and embellished within with gold and azure. The folding doors are plated with silver, gilt with vermillion.

In it stands the tomb of Fatima in the midst, which is overlaid also with China tiles, painted a-la-morefco, and overspread with cloth of gold, which hangs down on both sides. It is enclosed with a grate of massy silver, ten feet high, distant half a foot from the tomb, and at each corner are apples of fine gold. In the two chapels on each side stand the tombs of the last Kings of Persia, viz. Abas and Sophi, both very magnificent; but on that of Abas are written in large characters of gold, seven elegies upon Mahomet and Haly, made by the learned Hasan-Casa.

These are rare pieces of eloquence, and in them may be seen not only the genius of Persian poetry, but the transports of the Mahometan devotion. This city contains several other beautiful and sumptuous edifices, and would be a very pleasant place, were it not for the heat, which is excessive, there being no place in all Persia where the sun scorches more violently, yet is the air wholesome, and soil fruitful, especially in pistachios. The people are very courteous and civil. The river that passeth by it is but a small current in summer, but being swelled with the snow-waters that fall from the mountains, it sometimes overflows great part of the city.

From Com he travelled four leagues over very fertile plains, abounding with fine villages, to Cassem-abad, a town consisting of 300 houses, belonging to the Queen-mother,



mother, as her dowry, from whence he passed over a dry sandy plain, without villages or water, to Abishirin, or sweet water, because there is a fountain of fair water, and went from thence to Cashan.

21. This city is seated in a large plain, near a high mountain, a league in length and a quarter of a league in breadth, running out from east to west in form of an half-moon. There is no river near the city, but it is supplied with water by canals, deep wells, and cisterns. It is encompassed with a double wall, flanked with round towers, after the old fashion, and hath five gates. The city and suburbs, which are the most beautiful, contain 6500 houses, as the people say, forty mosques, three colleges, and about 200 sepulchres of the descendants of Ali. The principal mosque stands right against the market-place, and has a tower, like a steeple, of free-stone. The houses are built of earth and brick, but are none of them remarkable for their beauty.

The bazars and baths are well built and kept, and the royal inn is the fairest in all Persia. The wealth and trade of Cashan consist in the manufactory of all sorts of stuffs, and tissues of gold and silver, plain and flowered, satin and velvet; there is no city in Persia that makes more. Cashan stands in a good air, yet so violently hot that it is ready to stifle you in summer, which is occasioned by the reflection of a mountain that stands on the south of it; but the greatest inconvenience that attends this city, is the great number of scorpions which infest it, and the parts adjoining, when the sun is in Scorpio, and therefore there is nobody but has by him several experienced remedies against the sting of this creature.

Cattle and wild fowl are not plentiful, but the country abounds in corn and fruits. They furnish Ispahan with fruits, especially melons and water-melons, all the season. Several European authors think this city to be Ambrodux or Ctesiphon of the ancients. It is said to be founded by a virgin, who therefore laid the first stone of it when the sun entered Virgo, and named it Cashan from her grandfather. It is governed by a *darogah* or mayor, who holds his place two years.

From Cashan he passed over a mountain, and then descended into a deep valley; very narrow and about a league in length, which is well filled with houses, vineyards, and gardens, so close one to another that they all seem but one village. Several delightful and clear streams preserve the summer so wonderfully cool here, that the roses were not blown, nor the corn or fruit ripe, when the harvest was quite got in at Cashan. Several modern authors assert, that Darius was murdered by Bessus in this valley, and that not improbably, because history says Bessus fled to Bactriana, and Nabarzanes to Hyrcania, and here the road begins to these two provinces, and so by Moutshacour, a large village of 500 houses, to Ispahan, which is so thick encompassed with villages, that you would think you are in the suburbs two hours before you come near them.

22. There are two other roads, which it is necessary that travellers should be acquainted with, which I shall briefly describe, viz. from Warsaw to Ispahan, and from Ispahan to Moscow.

Warsaw, which is seated upon the left hand of the Vistula, is the ordinary residence of the King of Poland. Beginning your travel here to Ispahan you must go to Lublin, which is six days' journey, and in five more you may get to Iluove, where the customers open all the bales of the merchant's goods, and exact five in the hundred. From Iluove you go to Jaslovieer in twelve days. This is the last city of Poland next Moldavia. Here, if you sell any goods, you must pay five per cent.

From thence you go to Yafhe in eight days. This is the capital city of Moldavia, and the residence of the Wayvod, which the Grand Segnior sends to govern that country.

country. Here all bales of merchandizes are opened, and there is a roll of all that the merchant is to pay, which amounts to five per cent.

From Yashe the way lies through Ourshaye, to which you come in three days. This is the last city in Moldavia. From hence to Akerman you go in four days, and the customs amount to four per cent. but they take the merchant's account. From Akerman you go to Ozou, where they take two per cent. and so to Precop, where they pay two and a half per cent. but they trust to the merchant's word at both places.

From Precop the road lies to Kaffa, where also the custom is three per cent. And the journey from Warsaw to Kaffa is fifty-one days by the waggon, which is the usual way of carriage in that country, and the customs in all come to eighteen and a half per cent. to which you must add the carriage and passage by sea to Trebifond, where you pay three piasters for every mule's and four for every camel's load. To avoid something of this charge, the Armenians ship their goods usually at another port, called Onnie, which is a very good port, and where they never pay above a piafter and a half for a camel's load.

There is another road from Warsaw to Trebifond shorter by three days' journey, viz. from Warsaw to Yashe, in the former road, and from thence by Galas, a city of Moldavia, Megin, and Mangalia, the best port in the Black Sea to the west, to Trebifond, from whence to Erzerom five days' journey, from which to Ispahan you go the usual road.

The other road from Ispahan to Moscow lies thus: you must travel the usual road before-mentioned, to Shamaki, and from thence to Derbent, which the Turks call Demir-Capi. This is the last city in the Persian jurisdiction, by which the river Shamourka runs. From Derbent you may travel to Tetark in eight days, where hiring barks with twelve oars, you may be at Astracan, by the help of a little sail which they put up, if the wind serves, in four or five hours, but if you row only it will take up nine. When you embark upon the Caspian Sea, you must provide yourself water for the first three days, because the water on the coast is bitter for that time, but afterwards it is very good. At Astracan the merchants are all searched by the Customers, and they take five per cent.

From Astracan to Moscow you take shipping in great barks, that make use both of oars and sails, rowing against the tide, and weigh all you carry aboard, for which you must pay fourteen caya, and three abassis and a half for every pound. From Astracan you sail to Corinya, and so in order by Sariza, Sarataf, Samarat, Senuriskat, Coulombe, Casan, Sabouk-sha, Godamijan, Triguina, Mouron, and Casin, to Moscow, which they count 2950 shagarons, or 590 Italian miles.

At Sarataf you may go ashore, and so go by land to Moscow, in waggons, when the snow is gone, and on sledges while it lies, and then the way lies through Inferat, Tymneck, Canquerma, and Valodimer, a city bigger than Constantinople, to Moscow, which journey may be finished in thirty-five days; but this way is never used but upon necessity, when the river is frozen, because in the passage from Sarataf to Inferat, which is ten days' journey, there is nothing to be had for man or horse. At Moscow the customs are the same as at Astracan, viz. five per cent. and all the Asians, viz. Turks, Persians, Armenians, and others, lodge in a sort of inns; but the Europeans lie in a place by themselves all together.

23. There are few countries in the world that are so little visited by European travellers as those about the Black Sea, and indeed there are several reasons for it. In the first place, the Turks will suffer no trade to be carried on by sea in any other than their own vessels, and so jealous they are on this head, that when the Russians were



masters of Asoph, and shared by that means in the navigation of the Black Sea, they were never easy. It is, in the next place, a very rare thing, even for such as travel for pleasure through the dominions of the Grand Signior, to strike out of the common road purely to gratify their curiosity, nor indeed in such a country as this would that be always safe. And lastly, the common reports of most of these countries place both them and their inhabitants in so bad a light, that few have any curiosity to be better acquainted with them. Our author's journey was by mere accident; he took this route to Persia is the most convenient at that time for his purpose; and it was also by accident M. de la Motraye took many years after the same route, and their accounts agree, generally speaking, very well; but some points in both seem to stand in need of explanation.

Our author has given but a very short account of the Crim Tartars, and therefore it is necessary to say something more of them. Authors differ very much as to the condition of this nation, that is to say, whether they ought to be considered as free and independent, as allies or as subjects to the Turks. Instead of endeavouring to discuss the questions, we shall leave them to the decision of the reader, after reporting a few matters of fact. There are not many towns in this Tartary, and in those that have any fortresses, the Turks have garrisons. The Tartar Princes are rarely admitted into and never allowed to lodge in them. Caffa, we have elsewhere shewn, was once a very fine city, and is still a good port, which is in the power of the Turks; so is Baluclawa, which is still a better port, and, if we may depend upon the Turkish writers, is not exceeded by any in the world, either for the depth of water, or security from winds. The town of Chirck, upon the Straits of Daman, has also a very fine port, but it is an open place, and belongs to the Tartars. The capital of this country properly speaking, is Bascia Sarai, which is the residence of the Khan, was taken by the Russians in the late war, and totally destroyed. The Khan of the Tartars, though a sovereign prince, is appointed and deposed by the Grand Signior, but he is always succeeded by a prince of his own family; and this presumptive successor, whether he be the brother or the son of the reigning prince, is styled Sultan Galga. The second prince of the family is styled Hor Bey, the third, Noradin Bey, and the rest of the young princes have particular titles. It is to be observed of the Tartars in general, that even the meanest and most stupid of them is so much master of his genealogy, as to know exactly of what family he is descended, and to what tribe his family belongs. The truth of the matter is, that they resemble exactly Highland and Irish clans, and like them, are commanded by chiefs.

Every distinct family or clan of the Tartars, is by them styled Horda, and the chief, Murza, or as others write it, Mirza. Amongst the Crim Tartars there are four great tribes, to which all their hords belong, and the chiefs of these four tribes are the counsellors of the Khan, without whose consent he can undertake nothing of importance. Hereditary right is the fundamental law of all the Tartars, and the dignity of Mirza, or chief, descends from father to son. The Khan of Crim Tartary can bring eighty thousand men into the field, but his contingent, when called to assist the Grand Signior, consists of thirty thousand horse. All the world knows that these Tartars are very far from being handsome, but they are, generally speaking, brave, hardy, active, and enterprising, and their horses resemble them, for worse looking or better beasts for service, the world does not produce. As for riches, they consist in horses and in slaves; and as for their manner of living, it is equally coarse and barbarous in the opinion of all other nations, and honourable and happy in their own. They are very hospitable and kind to one

civil and respectful to such strangers as come among them, who are very welcome to what they have, and would be as welcome if they had more. One thing is remarkable, when any stranger comes to their tents, he is served by their children, and not by their slaves, let the quality of the master be what it will. A gentleman who was in the service of Charles XII. passing through this country in his way to Bender, where that Monarch then was, lodged in the tent of a principal Mirza, and when it was time to go to rest, his son made up for the stranger a bed of skins, by the side of which he set a little stool, with a pipe, a box of tobacco, and a bottle of excellent sherbet. In the morning he came and rolled up the bed, presented him cakes, butter, coffee, and milk, and brought him likewise his boots. The father, who was a kind of Prince, when the gentleman expressed some astonishment at his putting his son upon such offices, made him this answer; "Friend, this world is a lottery, in which there are many blanks to a prize; though I have many slaves, yet, by the fortune of war, my son may become a slave; it is fit, therefore, he should learn to behave in all conditions; the Khan does the same thing; and besides, let me tell thee, stranger, that among the Tartars, we hold the meanest office done to a friend as the highest honour, and therefore never share it with our slaves."

As the Tartars are chiefly known to the rest of the world by their excursions, we cannot describe them better, than by shewing in what manner they act on such occasions, wherein, without doubt, they discover an extraordinary genius for this manner of making war, which, however barbarous it may seem to us, answers all the ends of war to them, by furnishing slaves and booty in abundance, which supplies them with the means of happiness in time of peace. It is very true that they run through great hazards and hardships in time of war, but then these hazards and hardships are all that they sustain, for when they return to their tents they are free and independent, have neither care nor solicitude, but are princes in their own family, and live in what manner they like best, without any apprehensions or constraint. To us, indeed, even their repose and luxury appears a most shocking and hideous course of life; but it appears otherwise to them; and, after all, if there be any thing certain in this world, it is this, that the true standard of happiness is opinion. But to come to the point; every Tartar that goes into the field, carries with him two horses, which are taught to follow without being led, and are consequently useful to, without embarrassing their master. On these horses they lay a sack of rye meal, and another with biscuit and salt, which is all the baggage and provisions wherewith they are encumbered. It is only a few of the commanders that are provided with tents; the rest pass the night in the following manner. They carry with them four sharp stakes, which they drive into the ground, and upon these they fix their mantle, which serves for a bed; their wooden saddle supplies the place of a pillow, and a coarse thick cloth, which is thrown across the horse's back under the saddle, becomes a coverlid. The horses are tied to the pickets with pretty long cords; and while their masters sleep, the beasts very handily remove the snow with their forefeet, and feed upon the grass that is under it, taking now and then a mouthful of snow to moisten it. When a horse tires, his master cuts his throat upon the spot, and distributes his flesh among his friends, who make him the same compliment when occasion offers. The best part of the flesh they cut in slices, of an inch thick, and these they place very neatly under the saddle of the horse they ride upon. When they have travelled three or four leagues, they dismount, turn all the pieces of flesh, and mix them very carefully with the sweat, which they turn up with their fingers, then to horse again, and at night they sup upon this dainty dish, which they take ready dressed from under their saddles.



In this manner they will traverse two or three hundred leagues of ground, without ever lighting a fire, which they carefully avoid to prevent being discovered ; and they chuse the depth of winter for their expeditions, that the bogs, lakes, and rivers being frozen, they may avoid all interruptions, and prosecute their march with great expedition. Thus the Tartars march one hundred in front, that is three hundred horses ; every one of them has two, which serve for relays, as has been said before ; their front may extend eight hundred or one thousand paces, and they are eight hundred or one thousand in file, which reaches four long leagues, or three when they keep close ; for at other times they extend above ten leagues. This is wonderful to those that have not seen it, for eighty thousand Tartars make up above two hundred thousand horses. Trees are not thicker in the woods than horses are at that time in the field ; and to see them at a distance, they look like a cloud rising in the horizon, which increases as it rises, and strikes a terror into the boldest ; I mean those who are not used to see such multitudes together. Thus these mighty armies march, halting every hour about half a quarter of an hour to give their horses time to stale ; and they are so well managed, that they do it as soon as they stop ; then the Tartars alight too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the signal of a whistle ; and when they are come within three or four leagues of the borders, they lie still two or three days in some place chosen for that purpose, where they think they are concealed ; there they give out orders, and refresh their army, which they dispose of in this manner ; they divide it into three parts, two-thirds are to compose one body, the other third is subdivided into two parts, each making a wing, one on the right, the other on the left. In this order they enter the country.

The main body moves slowly, which, in their language, they call *Coche*, with the wings, but continually, without halting day or night, allowing but an hour to refresh till they are got sixty or eighty leagues into the country, without doing any harm ; but as soon as they begin to march back, the body holds the same pace ; then the general dismisses the two wings, which have liberty, each on its own side, to stray ten or twelve leagues from the main body ; but that is to be understood half of the way forward, and the other half sideways ; each wing, which may consist of eight or ten thousand men, is again subdivided into ten or twelve squadrons, of five or six hundred men each, who run up and down to the villages, encompass them, making four *corps de garde* about each village, and great fires all the night for fear any peasant should escape them : then they fall to pillaging and burning, kill all that make any resistance, and take and carry away all that submit, not only men, women, and sucking babes, but the cattle, horses, cows, oxen, sheep, goats, &c. As for the swine, they drive and shut them up in a barn, or such like place, and fire the four corners ; so great is the loathing they have for those creatures. The wings being allowed to stray but ten or twelve leagues (as has been said), return with their booty to their main body, which is easily done ; for they leave a great track, marching above fifty in front ; so that they have nothing to do but to follow, and in four or five hours they join their body again, where, as soon as they are come, two other wings, consisting of the like number as the former, go out on the right and left, to make much the same havock ; then they come in, and two others go out, and so continue their excursions without ever diminishing their body, which, as has been mentioned, makes two-thirds of the army, and move gently, to be always in breath and ready to fight their enemy, if they should meet them, though their design is not to meet, but to avoid them as much as possible. They never return the same way they broke in, but take a compass the better to escape ; for they always fight in their own defence, nay, and they must be forced to it, without they know

know themselves to be ten to one; and yet would they consider of it before they fell on; for these Tartars do not enter Poland to fight, but to pillage by way of surprize. When the Polanders meet them, they make work, forcing them to get home faster than their usual pace. At other times, after they have sufficiently plundered and robbed, they enter upon the desert plains in the frontiers, thirty or forty leagues in length, and being in that place of safety, make a great halt, recovering breath, and putting themselves into order, if they were in any confusion, on account of meeting the Polanders.

At their return from such an incursion, the Khan receives his tenth of the whole booty, which is afterwards divided amongst the several hords, and every Mirza receives the tenth of the share that belongs to his hord; after which, what remains is divided fairly and regularly amongst all that served in the excursion. It is, undoubtedly, one of the most shocking spectacles that can be beheld, to see the unhappy people of all ages, ranks, and sexes, that have been thus carried away, separated from each other, and torn away by their relentless masters, who either keep and employ them in servile work, or sell them, if they think proper, to the Turks, Persians, Circassians, or any of the adjacent nations, or to the merchants who come up into their countries on purpose to buy slaves. It is from their fortune in these kind of excursions, that the Tartar princes become rich and potent; for what they receive from their parents is very inconsiderable, and they make no scruple of telling strangers, when they admire the number of their tents, horses, cattle, and slaves, that what they have was acquired by their sword and bow; and that if they had been less lucky in their expeditions, they had been as poor and as miserable as any of their subjects. By leading this kind of life they become very active and vigorous, capable of enduring prodigious fatigue, so as to go without sleep for many nights together, and with little or no food for many days; but when they come to have more leisure, they will fetch this up by sleeping forty-eight hours upon the stretch, and will crowd three or four meals into one. Their good and bad qualities are peculiar to themselves, and seem to be derived entirely from the kind of life they lead; for though they will fight very bravely, yet they must be forced to it, chusing much rather to fly, if it be practicable. They will drink very freely upon certain occasions, but upon such occasions only, for at other times they are both abstemious and sober. The Crim Tartars are very far from being jealous, and are, generally speaking, content with one wife, seldom making use of their slaves as concubines; but then they are merciless masters, treat their slaves in the same manner as their cattle, and sell them with as little ceremony. Under misfortunes they are patient, or rather sullen, but what little education they have makes some difference amongst them, as appears by such of their Khans as are banished to Rhodes, which is the common place of their exile when deposed, where they live very handsomely, and without any dejection of spirit. Indeed this misfortune happens so frequently, that they cannot be much surprized at it. In the court of the Khan's palace at Bascia Saray, there are two tombs of princes who died in possession of that dignity, and, it is supposed, were erected there as curiosities in that respect. I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because I take it to be both instructive and entertaining.

In order to apprehend clearly the nature of our author's Voyages and Travels, we must consider the countries that lie upon the Black Sea, which is every where shut in by the land, except at the narrow Streights of Constantinople. On the west side lies the European coast, viz. the maritime parts of Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Romania, extending from south to north, that is, from Constantinople to Oczakow, in a straight line, about  
three



three hundred and twenty miles. On the north side lies the Little Tartary, the peninsula of Crim, and the great country of Circassia, that circumscribe the Palus Meotis, which communicates with the Black Sea by the Streights of Daman or Theman, which have the peninsula of Crim on one side, and Circassia on the other. Thus it appears that Circassia makes the north-east boundary of the Black Sea, and stretches itself quite to the Caspian. The countries lying on the west side of the Black Sea, and to the south of Circassia, are Mingrelia, Immoretta, and Guriel, of which our author has given a large and very good description.

These countries are all mountainous and narrow, having behind them towards the Caspian, the large country of Georgia, which borders immediately on the Persian dominions, having Circassia on the north, the countries of Mingrelia, Immoretta, Guriel, and Armenia, on the west, the Caspian Sea on the east, and the territories of Persia to the south. The several nations that inhabit these countries are, properly speaking, Tartars, or very little better; and though there are some towns, and even cities, yet most of the inhabitants live in tents. The Princes of the Circassians are hereditary chiefs of clans, like other Tartars, and it is certainly a degree of complaisance to esteem them Christians. It must be however allowed, that they are not quite so barbarous, or to speak with greater propriety, so far removed in their manners from ours, as other Tartars, notwithstanding their unnatural and detestable custom of selling their children; for it is certain that they take a good deal of pains in their education, but with no other view than that of bringing them to a better market. The boys, besides riding, hunting, shooting, and martial exercises, are taught several languages, and as they are very active in their persons, have quick wits, and are of bold and enterprising natures, they rise frequently to great preferment, both in Turkey and in Persia; as for the girls, they are likewise taught the Turkish and Persian tongues, music, dancing, and to repeat amorous novels and romances. If it may be accounted wonderful to see parents part with their children with so much ease as they do, it is certainly not at all less strange to see the children quit their fathers and mothers not only without pain, but with the utmost alacrity, the girls more especially. This arises from the stories they are told, of the vast fortunes that their countrywomen have made in different parts of the world, which fills them with aspiring thoughts, and to say the truth, their slavery is none of the hardest, for the merchants who buy them take as much care as is possible to improve their education, and are so far from making any attempts upon their chastity, that they are the most jealous guardians of it in the world, because all the hopes they have of selling them to advantage are founded in the extreme fondness the Mahometans have for virgins, and when they are sold, it is at so high a price, that those who buy them must be both able and disposed to maintain them in affluence.

There is no need to add any remarks on the remaining part of this section, because whatever requires farther explanation will be set in a clear light in the subsequent sections; only it may not be amiss to observe, that since the declension of the Persian empire, the Russians have taken many of the Circassian and Georgian princes under their protection, and it is highly probable that in time the rest will follow their example, which perhaps may render the country more accessible, and prove the means of drawing the inhabitants out of their present state of barbarism. If this could be done, and they once civilized, and brought under one sovereign, or even two or three that lived in tolerable harmony with each other, there is no doubt that they might be able to defend themselves against any that should attack them, and by the happiness of their situation, between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, and the many valuable commodities their country produces,

produces, they might very speedily establish a much more profitable as well as reputable commerce, than that which they have hitherto carried on. The late Schah Nadir, who had great views with respect to trade, was very desirous of forcing a passage to the Black Sea, where he intended to have established a port from which he expected vast things, but very probably these great designs will fall with him, and as the present generation is not like to see his equal, we must leave to posterity the hopes of beholding these countries and their inhabitants in a better situation than they are at present, for which they seem to have been designed by nature; in a worse, however, they cannot well be.



## A

## COPIOUS AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL DESCRIPTION

## OF THE

## GREAT EMPIRE OF PERSIA,

ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, DISTRIBUTION OF ITS PROVINCES, CLIMATE, RIVERS, SEAS,  
SOIL, PRODUCE, AND THE CHIEF CITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ;

AS TO AFFORD A PERFECT IDEA OF ITS CONDITION IN PAST AND PRESENT TIMES.

Collected from the Writings of the most famous Travellers, particularly from those of *Herbert, Chardin, Tavernier, Thevenot, Le Brun*, and others, their several Remarks and Observations being all digested in into a regular and easy Method.

- 
1. *The Situation and Extent of the Persian Empire, with a succinct Account of the Reasons why a clear and perfect Notion of the Territories which compose this Empire is of such Importance towards a right Idea of general History and Geography. — 2. A distinct and accurate Description of the several Provinces under the Dominion of the Persian Emperor, their ancient and modern Names, Situation, Extent, chief Cities, and Ports. — 3. The Air and Climate of Persia in its different Parts ; with an Account of the hot and stifling Winds so dangerous to Travellers on the Sea-coast. — 4. The Rivers in this Country, and the various Methods made use of to diffuse the Water by Canals and Aqueducts ; and an Account of the Seas upon which it borders. — 5. Of the Appearance of the Country in general, and of the Diversity of Soils in Persia. — 6. Of the particular Husbandry used in this Country, the Produce of Arable Lands and Gardens. — 7. Of the Variety of Fruits, Trees, Flowers, and Shrubs, that grow therein. — 8. Of medicinal Drugs that are brought from Persia, particularly Opium, Assafetida, and Bezoar. — 9. A large and curious Account of the Animals, tame and wild, in the several Provinces of Persia. — 10. Of the Fowls, Birds, and Fish in this Country, and the Reason why the latter is so scarce at Ispahan. — 11. Of the Minerals in Persia, and of precious Stones, particularly the Turquois, held to be peculiar to this Country. — 12. Of the Manner of building in Persia, how well adapted to their Climate, and of the Methods used to keep their houses cool and pleasant, even in the hottest Seasons. — 13. A particular Description of the capital City of Ispahan or Spahawn, with its peculiar Beauties and Blemishes. — 14. A distinct Description of the Royal Palace and of the Imperial Mosque. — 15. Of the Bagnios, Gardens, and Bridges in the City of Ispahan, and in its Neighbourhood. — 16. A large Description of the Borough or Suburb of Julpha, with an Account of the Armenians who inhabit it. — 17. The noble City of Chiras described, with an Account of the adjacent Country, and its Produce. — 18. An Account of the noble Antiquities at Tchelminar, the Remains of the ancient Persepolis, justly esteemed the most glorious Antiquity in the World. — 19. Of other Places of Note in Persia, more especially upon its Sea-coast, and of the Design of Schah Nadir to have removed the Capital of the Persian Empire, with the Reasons upon which that Project was founded. — 20. A*

Com-

*Comparison between the past and present State of Persia, in regard as well to the Fertility and Riches of the Country, as of the great Cities and Ports. — 21. Remarks, historical, political, and critical, upon the foregoing Section.*

1. **T**HERE is scarce any country in the world which makes a greater figure in histories, sacred or profane, ancient or modern, than this of which we are speaking. In the Scriptures the deliverance of the Jews by Cyrus; the protection they received from his successors; the memorable preservation of the whole people from the dark and deep laid plot of Haman, all refer to this potent empire and its monarchs. In reference to the Greek history, the earlier parts of it turn entirely on the disputes between the free states of Greece and the great King, as the latter contain nothing more than the history of the subversion of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the division of its several provinces after his decease among his captains. In regard to the Roman histories again, we find the Parthians continually disputing the progress of their arms in the east, and the most considerable part of the Constantinopolitan history, before the irruption of the Saracens proved fatal to both empires, comprehends the disputes between the successors of Constantine the Great and the Emperors of Persia. From the time the Saracens became masters of this country, the succession of their Caliphs forms a principal branch of the Oriental history down to the extinction of their dominion. Since that time the several conquerors of this empire have sufficiently distinguished themselves to deserve notice, and even the frequency of revolutions in this country make the history of it more curious and more entertaining. We know very little of the etymology of the word Persia, some say it was so called from the hero Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danae, but that seems to be a very ridiculous fable; others derive it from Perfes, a nobleman of that country, in times of great antiquity, but with respect to this also there wants both probability and proof; neither is the third account of the matter, which derives its name from Paras, that signifies a horse, very satisfactory; and as for the modern Persian word Fars, it is visibly derived from Persia, and therefore cannot help us to explain it. As to the oriental writers, they know it not at all by this name, but style it constantly Iran. In order to apprehend the meaning of this name, which is absolutely necessary to the understanding their histories, we are to know, that an ancient King of this country, or rather of the Upper Asia, whose name was Ferri down, had two sons, Tour and Irag, who succeeded him in his dominions, the former had all the country on the other side the river Oxus, which by the way, the Orientals style Gihon, and the other the country on this side. Hence arises the distinction of all the countries in the Upper Asia (China and the Indies excepted) into Touran and Iran; the former comprehending Great Tartary, and all the countries bordering or depending upon it, and the latter Persia in like manner, with all its dependencies. As for the modern writers in the Persian tongue, as they style their sovereign Shah, so they give his dominions the title of Shahistan, or the territories of the Shah.

We will proceed next to the situation of this country, and this is best shewn by marking the dominions of these Princes that confine it; for as to the distinct and precise limitations of this empire, it is impossible to lay them down with accuracy or certainty, because they depend upon the power of its monarchs, which fluctuates every day. On the east it has the dominions of the Great Mogul, the ocean and the Gulph of Persia towards the south, the territories of the Grand Signior on the west, and the country of Circassia, the Caspian Sea and the river Oxus, which divides it from the Usbeck Tartary, on the north. It may not be amiss to observe, that the northern and southern boundaries seldom or never vary, as being fixed by nature.



fians sometimes encroach upon, but in later times have been oftener encroached upon by their neighbours, as will appear more clearly when we come to speak particularly of its provinces.

As to its extent, it reaches from south to north about twenty degrees, that is, from twenty-five to forty-five degrees of north latitude. It contains pretty near the same number of degrees of longitude, the nearest of its provinces lying in the longitude of forty-five, and the most distant about sixty-six degrees east from the meridian of London. According to the ordinary computation, allowing for the division made by the Caspian Sea, it is a square of between eleven and twelve hundred miles, which shews plainly, that it is one of the most considerable countries of Asia; and if it was as thoroughly inhabited as the excellency of its situation, climate, and soil deserve, its monarchs would be, doubtless, as powerful as any sovereign Princes in the world; though at present, from a multitude of concurring accidents, it seems to be thinner in people, and weaker in point of government, than any of the other four Asiatic empires. As Persia, properly so called, is but a very small country in comparison of what now goes under that name, so the different times and occasions by which the other districts that now depend upon it were annexed thereto, render it extremely difficult to fix the number, the names, and the situation of its provinces, about which hardly any two geographers or travellers have been hitherto able to agree; therefore the reader will not think it strange, if the account we give of them differs from those he has met with before.

2. In order to deliver as plain an account of this matter as is possible, we shall observe, that the most accurate of the Persian writers themselves divide their country into thirteen provinces, and therefore it appears most reasonable to follow that division; and it may likewise be convenient to pursue their method of describing them; as this is a thing altogether arbitrary, and there seems to be the same cause to take it one way as another provided that when the method is once chosen it is closely pursued, that the reader may be able to trace it exactly, without confusion, and even to form in his head, as it were, a scheme of the whole country that is laid before him. We shall begin then with the north-east, and so passing along southward, describe all the countries of Persia that lie towards the frontiers either of Tartary or India. We shall then describe the provinces on the ocean and the Persian Gulph, together with such as lie within land; those on the frontiers of the Turkish empire will follow these, and we shall end with the provinces that lie north-west and north on the coast of the Caspian Sea.

I. Astarabat, or Estarabat, is situated on the coast of the Caspian Sea, to the south of the opening of the river Amu or Oxus; it hath Chorasan on the east, and on the south the province of Masanderan, on the west the Caspian Sea, and part of Tartary on the north. It is but small, having thirty-five leagues in length from west to east, and fifteen in breadth from north to south; for which reason many of our geographers include it within the great province of Chorasan. In regard to fertility, as well as to its climate, there is not a finer country in Persia. A ridge of hills that run through it furnish abundance of small rivulets, and some fine rivers that, running through it into the Caspian Sea, clothe the country, for a great part of the year, with continual verdure. The capital of this province has the same name with the province itself, and is one of the best built cities in Persia; and as it is a frontier towards Tartary, it is tolerably fortified, and has commonly a good garrison. It stands upon a gulph of the same name, and has a very good port for small vessels that do not draw any great depth of water. There are in it both silk and woollen manufactures, and the inhabitants drive a great trade in a sort of camblets, that are much esteemed both for beauty and strength. The country about is well cultivated, and as for the western

part of the province, it is a perfect orchard, abounding with fruits of all kinds, as well as with fine trees for shade and for timber; but the same thing cannot be said of the eastern part of the province, which being exposed to the inroads of the Usbeck Tartars, is so depopulated, that, in spite of the kindness of Nature, it looks like a perfect desert.

II. Chorasan is esteemed the fairest, richest, and most fertile province of the whole empire, and is the country known to the ancients by the name of Bactria; it is divided by the mountains of Balck from Great Bucharía, has the principality of Candahar on the east, the province of Segistan on the south, the provinces of Yerack and Masanderan to the west, and the province of Esterabat and the river Amu on the north. It is thought to be about one hundred German leagues in compass. The climate is very temperate, the soil extremely fruitful, abounding with rich fruits, fine pasturages, producing excellent corn, wine, and silk, and affording besides rich mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. It was formerly the best peopled, the best planted, and the best built province in Persia, but of late the incursions of the Usbeck Tartars have laid one half of it waste; and though for a few years they were kept in awe by the Shah Nadir, who drove them out of this country, for which he had a peculiar affection, yet it is not to be supposed, while the affairs of the Persian empire are in confusion, that they can be long restrained. The chief city of this province is Meschid, or Thous, of which we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter; and besides this, there are many other considerable places, such as Nichabour, Herat, Tcharkez, Amonoye, &c.

III. Sablústan, bounded on the north by the provinces of Chorasan and Candahar, which latter is sometimes reckoned a part of this province, on the east by the dominions of the Great Mogul, and on the south and west by the province of Segistan. The climate is tolerable, but the soil is extremely mountainous and barren; the inhabitants are, generally speaking, boorish and rude, at least in comparison of the rest of the Persians, yet the capital of the province, which is the city of Bost, is large, well built, well-inhabited, and the country about it is exceedingly well cultivated; all which arises from its lying in the direct road to the Indies. It is a place of great trade, abounds with manufactures and strangers from all countries, and with the district about it, looks so very unlike all the rest of the province, that it seems to have dropt into it from the clouds. Some other towns there are, but of no great importance, only it is fit to remark, that the people of this country make the hardiest soldiers, and are the best infantry in the Persian empire.

IV. Segistan, which seems to have been the Drangiana of the ancients, is bounded by Sablústan on the north, the territories of the Great Mogul on the east, by the provinces of Makeran on the south, and by part of the province of Kerman on the west. This country is tolerably fruitful, and is particularly remarkable for its palm-trees and its excellent dates, but it is greatly exposed to winds, which sometimes drive the sands in such a manner, as to cover the houses, and even whole villages. It was formerly famous for its gold mines, which, if we may trust the Persian authors, were the richest in the world, the veins sometimes pushing to the very surface; in which they are countenanced by some very ancient Greek authors. This province has produced both heroes and learned men, who have from thence borrowed the surname of Segistani, which by the way is a practice very common in Persia. The capital is the city of Zereng, more commonly styled Segistan, but a place of no great note. There are besides two other places of some figure in this country, Cobin and Mastich.

V. Macran, or Macheran, supposed to be the ancient Gedrosia, is bounded by Segistan on the north, by the dominions of the Great Mogul on the east, by the ocean



on the south, and by the province of Kerman towards the west ; it is looked upon as one of the worst provinces in Persia, the air being very indifferent, and the soil barren ; it is but indifferently peopled, and the inhabitants are esteemed barbarous and faithless. The chief towns in it are Makeran, Passir, and Gest ; the north part of it is entirely ■ a desert of ten days' journey ; it has, indeed, a port at Guadel, but of no great consequence, for it is capable of receiving only small vessels, and is besides not very secure.

VI. Kerman, which is without doubt the Caramania of the ancients, a very large and noble province, which may be well esteemed one of the most beautiful in Persia. It is bounded by Segistan and Makeran towards the east, the ocean towards the south, the province of Fars towards the west, and by a desert which separates it from the province of Yerac Agemi, towards the north. Some part of it is mountainous and barren enough, but the vallies are wonderfully fertile, producing fruits, roots and flowers in vast abundance ; it is in this province that such vast quantities of roses grow, as enable the inhabitants to carry on a considerable trade in rose-water, which is highly esteemed not only throughout all the east, but in Europe ; they have also very rich mines in this country, particularly those of Turquoises, of which we shall speak hereafter ; admirable steel, out of which they fabricate all kind of arms, and they have besides great manufactures of tapestry. But after all, the principal glory of this country is its sheep, the wool of which is esteemed the finest in the world ; and they have a very singular way of coming at it, for at a certain season of the year they pull it from the backs of the animals with their fingers, so that the sheep are entirely naked ; this wool is all wrought in its natural colours, and without dye ; it is of three sorts, the first brown, the second of a speckled grey, and the third of a milk-white ; this last is the most esteemed ; for there is none of it that ever goes out of the country, for it is entirely employed in making garments for their moulhas, or men of the law, and priests, who wear nothing else. There are in this province more of the Gubers, Gaur, or fire-worshippers, who are the remains of the ancient Persians, than in all the empire beside ; and these frugal and industrious people manufacture from the other two sorts of wool, several kinds of light stuffs, which in point of beauty and lustre are not at all inferior to silk. The city of Kerman is the capital of the province, it is large and well peopled, provisions are cheap there, and in the neighbourhood they have a manufacture of earthen-ware, which comes very near porcelain. The fort of Gambroon, and the island of Ormus, are by some authors reckoned dependent upon this province, which has produced several great heroes, learned physicians, excellent poets, and in a word, famous men of every kind ; amongst the rest, the celebrated Achmet Kermani, who was poet laureat to Tamerlane, and composed in Persian verse the acts of Alexander the Great, of Gingischan, and of his patron.

VII. Fars or Farsistan, as the Persians call it, is the ancient Persia Proper, the Orientals say that it derives its name from Fars, the son of Azaz, that is Arphazad the son of Shem, the son of Noah ; but what authority they have for this is more than I can determine : it is bounded on the east by Kerman, by the Gulph of Persia on the south, by the province of Chufistan towards the west, and by a great desert called Naubendighian upon the north, which separates it from Yerac Agemi. This sandy desert is of a vast extent, and reaches to the frontiers of the province of Chorasan ; it is the same we have mentioned before, in speaking of the province of Kerman. This is ■ a rich and noble country, abounding with all the necessaries of life, but more especially famous for producing in the neighbourhood of Shiraz, the richest and finest wine in Persia ; but the imperial grape of Tauris is esteemed most pleasant and luscious for eating. They

They have also an admirable glass manufacture in this province, where they blow bottles of an enormous size, some that are said to hold three gallons of our measure; but they keep their wine in earthen vessels, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter. The chief cities in this country are Shiraz, which will be described elsewhere. Lar, formerly the capital of a little independent principality; Bander Congo, a port upon the Persian Gulph, to which we may add, though, as I have said, some comprehend it under the province of Kerman, the famous port of Gambroon, or Bander Abassi. On the opposite shore of Arabia there is a small territory, called from the principal place therein, Elcatiff, which formerly belonged to the Persians, and was sometimes annexed to the government of Farsistan, which is one reason why I mention it here; another is, that in several maps, and in many oriental authors, the Persian Gulph is from hence called the Sea of Elcatiff.

VIII. Chufistan, the Susiana of the ancients, is bounded on the east by the provinces of Farsistan and Yerac, by the Gulph of Persia on the south, by the territory of Bassora on the west, and by the province of Curdestan on the north; the capital of this country is Schouster, believed with reason to be the city of Shushan mentioned in the book of Esther, famous for a noble palace built here by the Persian Monarch Artaxerxes, who is the Ahasuerus of the Scripture, and for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, of neither of which there are now any remains, though a Persian author of great credit assures us, that the latter was standing in his time, and that he had seen it.

IX. Curdestan, or Curdistan, part of the ancient Assyria, bounded on the west by the dominions of the Grand Signior, by the province of Chufistan on the south, by Erac Agemi on the east, and by Arderbeitzan or Media on the north; it is with very little reason that this country finds a place among the provinces of Persia, for the Kurds are a nation that sometimes own the protection of the Porte, and sometimes profess a dependence upon the Shah, but are in reality subjects to neither; they are, to say the truth, a very extraordinary race of highlanders, governed by their own hereditary chiefs, and the reason that I style them extraordinary is, because their force consists in horse, of which some chiefs can bring hundreds, others thousands, and it has been known, that a chief has brought twenty thousand into the field, where they behave as well as any troops in the world. As to their religion they call themselves Mahometans, but except circumcision and abstinence from wine, in both which they are very strict, they observe no other precepts of the Alcoran, and have neither moulahs nor mosques, except in two or three of their great towns. The mountains, of which this country is full, are rude and barren, but the vallies are fertile and pleasant, producing great quantities of tobacco and vines; of the former they make a great profit, but they make no wine of the latter, which they convert into raisins. The chief city in this country is Betlis, and besides this, there are some other places of note, indifferently built, but well inhabited. Thamas Kouli Kan attacked these people often, but with very little success, and they have more than once defeated both the Persians and the Turks in pitched battles, yet they act generally on the defensive, and seldom fight out of their own country.

X. Erac Agemi, or as some write, Azemi; the reason of this addition is to distinguish it from a province of the Turkish empire which is called Erac Arabi, and is precisely the ancient province of Babylon; whereas Erac Agemi is the ancient Parthia. This noble province is bounded on the north by Aderbeitzan and Ghilan, by the province of Choralan on the east, by Chufistan and Farsistan on the south, and by Curdestan on the west. The chief city is the capital of the Persian empire, viz. Isfahan, or Spahawn, situate in the latitude of thirty-two degrees, forty minutes north, and in the fiftieth



degree of longitude east from the meridian of London ; there are also in this province several other considerable places, such as Casbin, supposed to be the ancient Arfafia ; Com, described in the last section ; Sava mentioned there likewise ; Hamadan, a very fine city on the frontiers of Curdestan, the country about it extremely fruitful in rice, the mountains in the neighbourhood supplying several fine rivulets, which render its territory wonderfully fruitful. The Turks became masters of it by storm in 1623, and almost totally destroyed both it and its inhabitants. Casham, which lies about seventy miles north of Isfahan ; Yezd, which is situated one hundred and five miles to the eastward of that capital.

XI. Gilan, under which the modern Persian geographers comprehend not only the country properly so called, which comprehend precisely the Hyrcania of the ancients, but also the provinces of Mazanderan and Tabrestan ; so that, considered in this light, it is a very extensive country, bounded by the Caspian Sea on the north, by the province of Chorasan on the east, by that of Erac Agemi on the south, and by the great country of Aderbeitzan on the west. The whole of this province is wonderfully fair and fruitful. It is distinguished from almost all the provinces of this great empire by some very particular advantages. In the first place, its situation is very peculiar ; for on the one side it is covered by the sea, and towards the land it is surrounded with mountains and rocks that rise like so many natural fortifications, with this singular circumstance, that while they are rude, inaccessible, and terrible on that side, which is turned towards the rest of the provinces of the empire, they are on the inside respecting this province, of gentle ascent, covered with perpetual verdure, and covered with groves of citrons, oranges, olives, and figs. The very summits of the mountains shaded by cypress-trees and other excellent timber, which may be easily transported to the sea-side ; for through this rampart of rocks, nature has formed several passages so wide, and with such a slope as render them perfectly easy, and yet so well fenced on each side, that a small barricade will render them impregnable. Another singular benefit which this country enjoys, is its unbounded and amazing fruitfulness, which with very little cultivation pours out such prodigious abundance of all things necessary and desirable as is scarce to be believed ; for it is equally famous for its silk, its oil, its wines, its rice, its tobacco, and a vast variety of fruits. In other parts of Persia their houses are but mean, and the moveables of the common people very coarse ; but here, on the contrary, every peasant has a good house, and most of his furniture is made of box, of which they have the largest and finest trees in the world, and a large garden full of citrons, oranges, figs, and vines, so large, that the branches of them are frequently as big as a man's body. A third commodity, in some measure peculiar to this province, is a vast abundance of fish in their rivers, and in that part of the Caspian Sea which washes their coasts ; from whence, as the people draw an immense profit, so the Shah derives from thence a great revenue. The capital of this province is Resch, which stands in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees of north, a large and populous city ; besides which there are Kesker, Astara, and other considerable places within its bounds. Two things more deserve our notice ; one is, that the people of this province are of the Turkish, and not of the Persian religion, that is, they are followers of Omar, and not of Ali : the other, that by the treaty between the Emperor Peter the Great and the Shah in 1723, this province was yielded to the Russians. Mazanderan and Tabrestan are also very considerable countries, but so like to Gilan in their produce, that it is not necessary to describe them particularly.

XII. Aderbeitzan, which comprehends the greatest and best part of the ancient Media, is a very noble and beautiful country, bounded by the province of Shirvan on the

the north, by Gilan and the Caspian Sea on the east, by Erac Agemi and Curdestan on the south, and by the river Aras or Araxis on the west, which divides it from Georgia. The famous city of Tauris or Tabris, which is described in the foregoing section, is the capital of this country, and was one of the finest cities of Persia, till destroyed by the Turks in their last war with the Persians, when they are said to have put one hundred thousand persons of all ranks, ages and sexes to the sword. Ardevil is another great and fine city in this country, standing about thirty miles from mount Tauris; and Sultania, which was destroyed by Tamerlane, was scarce inferior to any city in Persia, as the ruins that still remain sufficiently testify at this day. It is still a good town, containing about six thousand inhabitants; but is particularly remarkable for a most noble mosque, in which is the tomb of the founder of this city, the famous Sultan Mahomet Chodabende. This mosque has three great gates, all of polished steel, and the tomb is seen through a grate of the same metal, finely wrought in foliages and branches of trees; and though some of these are of the thickness of a man's arm, yet they are so exquisitely finished, that there is not so much as a joint to be perceived in the whole; from whence the inhabitants persuade themselves, and would willingly persuade strangers, that it is made of one entire piece, and affirm that it was seven years in making.

XIII. Shirvan, or, according to the Persian orthography, Schirwan, contains the northern part of Media, and is by many authors made only a part of the foregoing province; but we comprehend within it, for the sake of keeping within bounds, the little province of Dagestan, and so much of Georgia and Armenia as belongs to the Persians; and taking it in this light, it is thus bounded; by Circassia and the Russian territories on the north, by the Caspian Sea on the east, by Aderbeitzan on the south, and by the Turkish Armenia and Georgia on the west. Schamakie is the capital of this province, and stands in the latitude of forty degrees fifty minutes north, between two mountains well fortified, and is a place of great trade. Derbent, or Debircan, which signifies an iron gate, is a famous pass between the mountains and the Caspian Sea. Baku is the only tolerable port on the west side of the Caspian; it is large and safe, but not deep; the town is small, but well peopled, and commanded by a citadel; it was given up to the Russians by the peace of 1723. The province of Dagestan is at present for the most part in the hands of the Tartars, and to curb this fierce nation, who are able to bring twenty thousand men into the field, the Russians built the fortress of St. Andrew, not far from Tarku, which is the capital of this country, as Teflis is of that part of Georgia which belongs to Persia. That part of Armenia which belongs to this country is styled Aran, and the capital of it is Erivan, which has been before described. Within the bounds of this province stands also the city of Nackfivan, which the inhabitants are fully convinced is the oldest in the world, having been built by Noah and his children upon their coming out of the ark, of which, if you will credit them, there are still some remains on the mountains that are not far from hence. Thus we have completed a regular and geographical description of all the parts of this great empire, which will enable the reader to comprehend perfectly all that follows in the ensuing section. And we dare also assure him, that he will find it of very great use towards understanding all the histories of and travels through this country, already published, as well as the accounts we may hereafter receive from thence, which might otherwise appear very unintelligible.

3. Persia, extending from the twenty-fifth degree of latitude to the forty-fifth, the longest day in the south is thirteen hours and a half, and in the north above fifteen hours. In so great an extent of country it is natural to suppose that the air and seasons are very different, as in fact we find them to be. In the middle of the empire, which



winter begins in ~~November~~ and continues till March, with severe frosts and snow, which falls in great quantities on their mountains, but not so much in the champaign country; from the month of March till May the wind is usually high, and from thence to September they have a calm serene heaven, without so much as a cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the daytime, the refreshing breezes which blow constantly morning and evening, as well as in the night, make the summer very tolerable, especially since the nights are near ten hours long. The air is so pure, and the stars shine with that lustre, that one man may know another very well by their light, and people travel much more in the night than the day. In this part of Persia there are very seldom any hurricanes or tempests and very little thunder and lightning, nor is it subject to earthquakes, and the air is so extremely dry in the summer season, that you will not find the least dew or moisture on any thing that is laid abroad all night, or even in the grass, and it very seldom rains in the winter. No country is more healthful than the interior part of Persia, as appears by the hale complexion of the natives; they are strong and robust, and, generally speaking, enjoy constant health. As for foreigners who come thither, it is a common observation, that those who are healthy at their arrival continue so, and that those who are sick seldom recover.

The air in the southern part of Persia, particularly about Gombroon, is very unhealthy in the spring and fall: our European factors never pass a year without a dangerous fit of illness, which frequently carries them off. It is an ordinary thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die the survivor shall possess the other's fortune. Nor is this any great prejudice to their relations, for if a man leaves private trustees, or makes the Company his executors, the heir of the deceased will meet with great difficulties in recovering the testator's effects. The months of June, July, and August, are healthy enough, but so very hot, that both natives and foreigners get up into the mountains at that time. The hot winds which blow from the eastward, over a long tract of sandy deserts, are ready to suffocate them, and sometimes there happens a pestilential blast, which strikes the traveller dead in an instant. It rains but very seldom here any part of the year, and the water they save then is very unwholesome.

The provinces of Georgia, Shirvan, and Adirbeitzan, are very dry and warm in the summer, but subject to storms and tempests in the winter, and as severe frosts for six months as any countries on the continent in the same latitude; but as this part of Persia is very mountainous, there is frequently a vast difference between the air on the north and the south side of the mountains, and in a few miles travelling people think themselves in a different climate; but however cold the mountains in the north may be, they are extremely healthful. On the contrary, the flat country of Gilan and Mezen-deran, which lies upon the Caspian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, is very damp, full of stinking morasses, and unhealthy, insomuch that the inhabitants in the summer retire into the mountains, all the water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot season; and here, and in Chorasan, it is said earthquakes are very common.

4. It is observable, that there is no country in the world of so large an extent as Persia, where there are so few navigable rivers; there is not so much as one river in the heart of the country that will carry a boat of any burthen; and you may travel several days' journey, without meeting with any water whatever, in some parts. The river Oxus, indeed, which divides Persia from Usbeck-Tartary, is a large stream, but as there are no branches of it that arise in the Persian dominions, it is of little use to them. The rivers Kur and Aras, anciently called Cyrus and Araxes, which rise in the mountains of Ararat, and run through Georgia, Shirvan and Adirbeitzan, and having joined their streams, fall into the Caspian Sea, are much the most considerable rivers in

in the Persian dominions. However, there are several small rivulets which fall from the mountains, and are conveyed by subterraneous channels or otherwise to their principal cities.

Water being so scarce in Persia, there is no place, where they husband it better, or have more ingenious contrivances, to convey it to their cities, and into their corn-fields and gardens. This is the care of the government, and there is a great officer in every province, who has the charge of the conveyance and distribution of the waters. They turn all their little rivulets and springs to those parts of the country where they are most wanted; they dig wells also of a prodigious depth and breadth, out of which they draw the water with oxen, in great leathern buckets, which being emptied into cisterns, is let out as there is occasion for the service of the country. They have also vast subterraneous aqueducts, through which they convey water twenty or thirty leagues to the places assigned. These are two fathoms high, and arched with brick, and at every twenty paces distance, there are large holes like wells, which were made for the conveniency of carrying on the arch without working under ground too far, and the more easy repairing them. The distribution of the river and spring water, is made one day to one quarter of the town, and another day to another, as occasion requires, when every one opens the canal or reservoir in his gardens to receive it, for which every garden pays a certain sum yearly to the government, particularly about Isfahan; and as it is very easy for one to divert his neighbour's water into his own channel, this is a fraud that is severely punished. They give a greater rate for river water, than they do for spring-water, which is not found so proper for the improvement of their grounds.

Besides the ocean, there are two seas belonging to Persia, one on the north, and the other on the south-west, viz. the Caspian Sea, and the Gulph of Boffora or Persia, which have been already mentioned. The Caspian Sea is about a hundred leagues in length, from north to south, and ninety leagues in breadth, and has near a hundred rivers running into it, of which the chief is the Wolga, at the mouth whereof stands Astracan; but this sea has no communication with any other, and though so many rivers fall into it, there is no visible way by which it discharges itself of its waters, but they remain, always of the same height, and do not either ebb or flow. The Russians have in a great measure the sole navigation of this sea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more so by the new trade that has been set on foot, from Europe to Persia, through Russia.

The Shah Nadir was very desirous of becoming a maritime power on this side also, and employed a gentleman of a certain country, to build him ships of force for this purpose, but considering the revolutions that will probably attend his death, these designs are like to fall to the ground. The Persians were formerly entirely masters of the gulph that separates their country from Arabia, for which they were in a great measure indebted to us, who assisted them in dispossessing the Portuguese of the island of Ormus, upon which they had opened a very advantageous port, allowing us half the customs arising from the goods imported and exported here. But Shah Abbas the Great, thought that consideration too large, and therefore when he transferred the commerce to his new port of Gambroon, or Bander Abassi, i. e. the port of Abbas, he allowed the East India Company no more than one thousand tomans, which makes three thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence of our money. It was in this gulph, on the coast of the island of Baherem, that they had the finest pearl fishery in the world, which produced annually about six hundred



but in the late unsettled state of their empire, the Arabians have seized or rather recovered this fishery, and are in possession of it, at least for the present.

5. As we have now given a clear account of the rivers and seas of this country, we will next speak of the soil and its produce; and in the first place we must observe, that there is not a country in the world, which has more mountains and fewer rivers than Persia, and some of their mountains are looked upon to be the highest on the face of the earth. Mount Taurus, which receives different names as it branches itself out into different provinces, runs quite through the country, from west to east. The loftiest of these mountains are those called Arrarat in Armenia, the mountains which separate Media from Hyrcania, and those between Hyrcania and Parthia or Erak. Those also which divide Fars or Persis from Carmania are exceedingly high, the most famous of which is called mount Jarron, but they are generally dry barren rocks, without trees or herbage upon them, except those of Gylan or Hyrcania, and the mountains of Curdestan, which are covered with woods and very fruitful, where they are manured. There are vast sandy deserts, several days' journey over in this kingdom, where there is scarce a drop of water to be found, and the land in general upon the frontiers lies uncultivated, to discourage their enemies from invading them; and in fact there is not the least subsistence to be met with for several miles, whether you enter this empire from Turkey or India. There are however some fruitful plains and vallies, in which their principal cities stand, which yield plenty of grain, and herbage, and no country is more fruitful than the provinces which lie upon the Caspian Sea, as has been already observed. But then Hyrcania is very unhealthy in summer time, which some apprehend proceeds from the multitude of snakes and insects, which lie rotting upon the ground when the waters are dried up, as well as from the foulness of the water itself, which is so thick and muddy that there is no drinking it at that season of the year.

As to Persia in general, there is not a tenth part of it cultivated, not but that there are many vallies which bear neither grass nor grain at present, which formerly when greater care was taken to turn the waters into them, were fruitful countries. In some provinces, there are hundreds of fine aqueducts, choaked up and buried in ruins, so that it is not so much a defect in the soil, as the want of people, or at least of husbandmen, which renders Persia barren. The soil in some parts is a hard gravel, and in others a stiff whitish clay, almost as hard as stone, but either of them are fruitful enough when well watered, and will bear often two crops, and sometimes three in the compass of a year; and if we give any credit to ancient authors, there was not a more plentiful country in the world than Persia was formerly; the reason of this alteration some ascribe to the different dispositions of the people, who have inhabited it. The ancient Persians, the fire-worshippers, it is said, were obliged by the precepts of their religion to cultivate the soil, and it was by them accounted a meritorious act to plant a tree, to bring the water into a field, and make a barren spot of earth produce grass or grain, while the Mahometans seem to have no genius for improvements, or even to keep up what their ancestors have built or planted, but let every thing run to ruin; however, one reason of this neglect may be, that the properties of the people are in no security, and no wonder they have but little inclination to make improvements, when they have no certainty of reaping the advantage of them.

6. Near great towns they improve their grounds with the dirt and dung of the streets, but at a greater distance, they throw their fields into little level squares, which they bank about, and then turn the water into them, letting it stand in the field all night, which having soaked it, the water is let out next morning, and the sun shining with almost perpendicular

perpendicular rays upon the moist earth, renders it fit for the production of any sort of grain or plants. Where the ground is light they plough with two or three oxen or buffaloes; but in Gilan and other countries, where they meet with stiff clay, it is as much as eight or ten oxen can do to draw their ploughs which are very large. Rice, wheat and barley, are almost the only kinds of grain growing in Persia; oats they have none, and little or no rye. Their seasons are not the same in the north as in the south, but when they are sowing in one part of the country, they are reaping in another, and in some places it is not more than three months between seed-time and harvest.

Their land never lies fallow, but it is sown once every year, at least, it is so meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the heat of the sun afterwards working on the mud, that it is never out of heart. As to the rice, it must be constantly supplied with water till the harvest; but for other grain, the land is only flowed before the sowing, to render it prolific. Their kitchen gardens are well furnished with most of the roots and fallads we have in Europe; they have no less than twenty several sorts of melons during the season they last, which is about four months, the common people make them their constant food, those which come to maturity first in the spring are round and small, those that rippen in the latter part of the season are the best and largest, some of them weigh eight or ten pounds, and are as sweet as sugar itself; at the tables of persons of quality they have them all the year round, there being a way to preserve them under ground till the season returns again, and it is said, some persons will eat eight or ten pound of melons at a meal, without being sick. The best melons grow in Chorassan near Tartary, and they are carried as far as Ispahan for the Shah's use, and as presents to their friends. Cucumbers are another fruit much eaten by the common people, one sort of them has scarce any seeds in it, and is eaten without paring or dressing, and is not reckoned unwholesome.

7. Of grapes they have several kinds, and some of them are so large, that a single grape is a mouthful. They make their wine at Ispahan of the Kismishs, a little round grape, and without any stone that can be perceived, but much the best wines are made at Shiraz. They keep their grapes all winter, and let them hang a considerable time on the vine, wrapped up in linen bags; the air is so dry, that it preserves all kinds of fruit as long as they can desire. Dates are reckoned one of the most delicious fruits in this country, they are no where so good as in Persia, the pulp which encloses the stone is a clammy substance, as sweet as honey; they are laid on heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preserve themselves without sugar. Foreigners are advised to eat moderately of them, because they heat the blood, and occasions ulcers in those who are not used to them, and sometimes weaken the sight, but have no ill effects upon the natives; the tree which bears them is slender, but very tall, and like other palms, has no branches but on the top, and the fruit grows in clusters of thirty or forty pounds weight; the tree does not bear till it is fifteen years old, but continues bearing above a hundred years. There are in Persia most of the fruits which are to be had in Europe, and they would be in much greater perfection, if they knew any thing of gardening, but they understand neither grafting, inoculating, or the art of managing dwarf-trees; all their trees run up very high, and are loaded with wood. They have excellent apricots of several kinds, which are in season one after the other, and their nectarines and peaches weigh sixteen or eighteen ounces a-piece; there is an apricot red within, which is called, the egg of the sun; these are dried and exported in vast quantities; they are boiled in water, which is thickened by the juice of the fruit, and makes a perfect syrup without sugar.



Apples and pears grow chiefly in the north part of Persia, they have also pomegranates of several kinds, with oranges, quinces, and prunes, and such variety of fruits, that Sir John Chardin says, he has seen above fifty sorts at an entertainment, some of which grew three hundred leagues from the place. The pistachio nuts are almost peculiar to Persia, and are transported all the world over; here are also small nuts, filberds and almonds. Olives grow in Hyrcania, near the Caspian Sea, but they neither know how to preserve them, nor draw oil in the best manner from them. They have also plantations of sugar and tobacco.

Among other trees in their gardens, they have the cypress, the palm, and the mulberry, of the last there are large plantations for their silk worms, which they do not suffer to grow up to be great trees, because the leaves are best when the shoots are young. They root up the trees therefore when they grow old, and plant their grounds afresh. But the tree which is in as great esteem as any in Persia, is the Senna; the body of this tree is very large, and frequently forty or fifty feet high, and straight as the mast of a ship, having no branches but on the head of it; the bark is of a bright grey, and the wood serves them to make doors, rafters, and for other uses in building. The trees that are most common in Persia are the plane-tree, the willow, the fir, and the cornel-tree; the plane-tree the Persians imagine is a preservative against the plague, and other contagious distempers, and observe, that the plague has never raged in Ispahan since this tree was planted in their streets and gardens. The trees also which bear the gall nut is very common in many parts of Persia, and there are trees which yield gum mastich, and frankincense; that which produces frankincense very much resembles a pear-tree, and abounds chiefly in Carmania.

There are likewise trees which produce manna of several sorts: the best manna has a yellowish cast, a large coarse grain, and comes from Chorassan or Bactria; there is another sort called Tamerisk, because the tree it drops from is so named, and is found in large quantities in the province of Susiana; and there is a third sort gathered about Ispahan, which falls from a tree much like the tamerisk, but larger; the leaves of this tree drop liquid manna in summer-time, which the natives take to be the sweat of the tree congealed upon the leaf in the morning; the ground under it is perfectly fat and greasy with it, and this has as sweet a taste as other manna.

The cotton-tree is common all over Persia, and they have another little tree, which yields a kind of silken down, used for quilting and stuffing of pillows; there is also a plant, called hannah, that bears a seed which they beat to powder, and colour their hands and feet, and sometimes rub over their faces with it, apprehending it keeps their skin smooth, and preserves their complexion: they sometimes bruise the leaves of it, which serves them for the same purpose.

There are found in the deserts of Carmania, two little shrubs of a poisonous quality, the first is called galbad samour, or the flower that poisons the wind; some people imagining that it is this occasions those killing winds which blow in this province in the hot season; the other shrub is called Herzebre, the trunk whereof is about as big as a man's leg, and grows about six feet high; its leaves are almost round, and it bears a flower like the sweet-briar. There are scarce any trees to be found on the mountains, or wild fields in Persia; these are for the most part destitute of all manner of verdure, while in their cities, and the villages for three or four leagues round them, the streets as well as gardens are so well planted, that the houses are hardly to be discerned at a distance; when you have travelled some few leagues, indeed you meet not either with house, tree, or shrub, for many miles, but all looks like a barren desert, notwithstanding

standing which, great part of this soil, were it watered, would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was so some ages since, when a more industrious generation than the present possessed the country.

From their trees, I pass on to their flowers, and of these there is a great variety to be found in some provinces. The south part of Persia has much the fewest; excessive heat being as destructive to them as extreme cold; but nothing can be more beautiful than the fields of Hyrcania, where are whole groves of orange-trees, jessamins, and all the flowers we have in Europe. The east part of this country, which is called Mazanderan is one continued parterre from September to April; the whole country at that time is covered with flowers, and this, though it be their winter season, is also the best time for fruits. In the other months the heat is so excessive, that the natives find themselves under a necessity of retiring to the mountains.

In Media the fields produce tulips, anemonies, and ranunculuses; about Ispahan, and some other towns, jonquils grow wild. They have also daffodils, lilies, violets, and pinks in their season, and some flowers which last all the year round; but they have the greatest quantity of lillies and roses; they export abundance of rose-water to other countries; in the spring, there is vast plenty of yellow and red gillyflowers, and another red flower which resembles a clove, of a beautiful scarlet colour, and every sprig bears thirty of these flowers, which form a fine head as large as a tennis-ball.

Their roses are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one side and yellow on the other; but notwithstanding all this great variety of beautiful flowers, their gardens are not comparable to those of Europe. As flowers are so common they are very little regarded; you see them intermixed with fruit trees and rose bushes without any order; but large walks planted with trees, fountains, canals, cascades, and pleasure houses, at proper distances, are all that must be expected in their finest gardens; nor do the Persians take any manner of pleasure in walking in them, any more than in the fields, but set themselves down in some alcove or summer-house as soon as they come into them, totally negligent of that exquisite variety that every foreigner is charmed with.

8. Persia also affords great plenty of physical drugs, as cassia, fenna, antimony, nux vomica, gum armoniac, galbanum, sal armoniac, and a kind of rhubarb, with which they purge their cattle; but the best rhubarb comes from China, or rather from eastern Tartary, which lies to the northward of China. The Persian poppies are in great esteem from the quantity of juice they yield, and the strength of it; they grow four feet high in some places, and have white leaves. They extract the juice from them in June, when they are ripe; by making little incisions in the head of the poppy, a thick liquor distills from them, which is gathered very early in the morning before sun-rise. It is said to have such an effect on the people, who are employed in this work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their limbs tremble as if they had the palsy. The liquor which is thus drawn from the poppies in a little time grows thick, and is made up into pills. The Persians give it the name of *afioun*, and we, probably from thence, call it opium. The Persian bakers strew poppy-seed on their bread, which incline those that eat it to sleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholesome after their meals; the common people eat the seed at any time almost for pleasure.

Saffron grows plentifully in Persia, and *assafœtida* is to be had every where almost, which is much admired by the natives of Persia as well as India, and frequently eaten with their food; that which to us is most offensive of all scents, by them is esteemed a perfume.



*Assafoetida* is a liquor which distills from the plant called *hiltot*; it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as gum; there is the white and black kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the best to eat. The smell of this drug is so very strong, that if any goods be near it in a ship, the smell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up every so close, and it is almost impossible to clear them of it; nay, it affects the colour, and therefore Sir John Chardin tells us, the vessels used in transporting it are frequently broke up and burned, to prevent other goods from being spoiled by being carried in them, from which no package can save them.

The Persian bezoar is esteemed preferable to that of India, which having already described; we shall not dwell upon it here. It is sufficient to observe, that the reasons it is not so much esteemed in Europe as it was formerly, are these; in the first place, it is frequently sophisticated, notwithstanding that several methods are in use for detecting these frauds, of which I shall mention a few. The genuine bezoar, at least that which comes from Persia, has a very fine smell resembling that of ambergris but not near so strong; if thrown into hot water, and left there for three or four hours it, loses nothing either of its colour or weight; if pricked with a hot iron, no smoke arises; if rubbed upon a leaf of Dutch vellum, it leaves a yellow impression; if broke or cut, it appears to be composed of several coats unequally disposed, in the same manner as appears in cutting an onion. Another reason why it has lost its credit, is the humour people have of embracing the contrary extreme to that of their ancestors; heretofore bezoar was sold very dear, and was held to have many and great virtues, and now it is fashionable to affirm that it has little or no virtue at all; which though it has driven it out of use, has not much beat down its price, because in the east, and even in other parts of Europe, it is still in esteem.

A third reason is, our giving it in too small doses, so that its virtues are not discernible. A famous Persian physician had a great secret for curing lunacy, which he sold to a French gentleman for a large sum of money, and this secret consisted in giving equal quantities of bezoar, musk, and camphire, as I found in a French manuscript of receipts, in which it is said, that very singular cures were performed by it; but the quantities of these drugs in a dose were not mentioned.

In the province of Chorasán they frequently find human bodies preserved in the sand, the flesh of which they sell under the name of mummy, for medicinal uses; and there are also such bodies found in a cavern not far from the borough of Abin, in the province of Farfistan. It is however necessary to inform the reader, that in the Persian and Turkish languages, the word *moum*, from whence we have formed mummy, signifies literally a soft clammy substance, of the consistency of balsam, which explains sufficiently what is meant by mineral mummy, which is a kind of natural balsam distilling through the rock of a large cavern in the province of Lar, esteemed so precious, that the Shah keeps it entirely for his own use, the doors of this cave being sealed by the governor of Lar, who opens it only once a year, to take out the balm the quantity of which seldom exceeds ten ounces. A multitude of virtues are ascribed to it, particularly in the cure of fractures, in which it is said to perform wonders; but it may very well be doubted, whether any of this was ever brought into Europe.

9. We will now proceed to speak of the animals that are found in Persia, and in reference to these, the camel, for a beast of burthen, much excels all the rest, whether we consider the weight he carries, the dispatch he makes, or the little charge of keeping him. Of these camels there are several kinds; some have two bunches upon their backs, and others but one, and there is a third sort ingendered between a dromedary or camel, with two bunches, and a female with one, which are esteemed much the best.

and sold for twenty or thirty pounds a-piece, for they are seldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thousand weight. Those which travel between the Persian Gulph and Isfahan are of a much less size, and do not carry above five or six hundred weight; but these, notwithstanding, are almost as serviceable as the other, for they are much swifter, and will gallop like a horse, whereas the others seldom go faster than a foot pace. These swift camels are kept by the Shah and great men, and serve to transport their women from place to place, and carry their baggage; they are usually adorned with embroidered cloths, and silver bells about their necks; a string of six or seven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one man; they use neither bridles nor halter to hold them, or whips to drive them, but they are directed by the driver's voice, who sings or plays to them as they travel; good usage only moves them, for they are naturally so obstinate, it is in vain to beat them if they tire.

When they are to take up their burthen, the driver touches their knees, whereupon they lie down on their bellies till they are loaded, groaning however, and giving signs of uneasiness, under a sense of the fatigue they are about to undergo; they let them graze by the road-side, with their burthens on their backs, on weeds and thistles, and sometimes they feed them with balls made up of barley meal and chaff, into a paste, with which they often mix the cotton seed; but the camel is the least feeder of any beast, considering his bulk. It is very happy also that they can live without water two or three days together, there being scarce any to be met with in those deserts the caravans are forced to cross. They shed all their hair every spring, and are perfectly naked. Of the camel's hair, abundance of fine stuffs are made, as we shall shew in speaking of manufactures; these creatures are very tame and tractable, except when the lustful fit is upon them, which lasts thirty or forty days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their drivers increase their burthens at that time, to keep them under. When once the male has covered the female, he grows sluggish, and does not care for stirring out of the stable: they go with young eleven months, and some say twelve.

Oxen, buffaloes, asses and mules, are also used indifferently for carrying of passengers, or burthens, and their land being plowed by buffaloes and oxen, these beasts are very seldom killed for food, though some Persian governors, in the south of Persia, have extorted considerable sums out of the Indian Banians, who reside thereabouts, under pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the Banians did not redeem their lives by a considerable present. The asses of Persia are much larger and swifter than ours, and will perform a journey very well.

But the finest beasts are their horses, these are beautiful creatures, and no where better managed than in Persia. They have fine forehands, and are exactly well proportioned, light and sprightly, but only fit for the saddle, or at least, not used for any other purpose; they are never gelded, and wear their tails at their full length; but though they are lovely creatures to look on, they are neither so swift as the Arabian, nor so hardy as the Tartar horses, and the Shah therefore has always a stable of the Arabian breed. Horses are very dear in Persia, some of them being sold for two or three hundred pounds, and seldom any that are good for less than fifty. It is not so much the scarcity of them, as the selling such numbers to India and Turkey, which enhances the price.

They have mules also that carry very well, and are valued, some of them at thirty or forty pounds a-piece, and some asses at not much less, after they have been taught to pace. The ordinary food for horses is barley and chopt straw; they have no mangers in their stables, but give their horses their corn in bags. In the spring they cut green grass for their horses, but never make any into hay to be eaten dry; sometimes



they feed their horses with balls made of barley-meal, as in India; instead of litter their own dung is dried, and beaten to powder, and laid a foot deep for them to lie on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the sun the next day. Their horses' hoofs are much foundler and harder than ours, and they are shod with thin plates, as the oxen are, on account of their travelling over the stony mountains. They daub their horses legs in winter with a yellow herb, called Hannah, and sometimes anoint their bodies with it as high as their breast, to keep out the cold as it is said; but it seems to be rather by way of ornament, for in some places it is done all the year round.

The Shah has large stables of horses dispersed throughout the kingdom, almost in every city, for the public service. A horse is seldom denied to any man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then such persons are accountable to the government for them, when they shall be called out into the field; but they have the liberty of riding them in the mean time. These troopers' horses are sometimes quartered upon people, who would gladly be excused from the trouble and charge of keeping them, and if any horse dies in their hands, oath must be made, that it did not die for want of corn, or looking after. Their horses are subject to many distempers, sometimes their legs swell, and a humour rises on their breast, which proceeds from eating too much barley; and in this case, they clap a hot iron to the swelling, or lance it, and keep the sore open, by running a willow twig through it, but a hot iron applied to the part is the most general remedy for lame or distempered horses.

Of sheep and goats there are great plenty in Persia; the natives seldom eat any other meat, their sheep are large and remarkable for their fat tails, which weigh eight or ten pounds, and some it is said are above twenty pounds in weight; they are remarkable also in some parts of Persia for having more horns than ours. Some have six or seven horns standing straight out of their forehead, so that when their rams engage, there is usually a great deal of blood spilled in the battle. The Persian goats are not only valuable for their flesh, but the fine wool they yield, of which great quantities are annually exported, more especially from Carmania. Hogs there are scarce to be met with, for as the Mahometans, who are the governing part of the country, abhor this animal, their Christian subjects do not endeavour to increase the breed, unless towards Georgia and Armenia, where the Christians are numerous.

Wild beasts there are not many, either in the middle or the southern part of Persia. Deer they have some, and antelopes, which are much of the same nature, except that they are spotted, and have finer limbs. In Gilan and Curdistan, the woody parts of the country, wild beasts abound, such as lions, tygers, leopards, wild hogs, jackals, &c. And in Media and Armenia, there are abundance of deers, wild goats, hares, and rabbits, and there are some found on the mountains almost all over the country, but not many.

Insects they are not much troubled with in the heart of Persia, which is very dry, unless it be with swarms of locusts, which visit them sometimes in such numbers, that they look like a cloud, and perfectly obscure the sun, and wherever they light destroy the fruits of the earth; but there are certain birds which generally visit the country about the same time, and eat up the locusts, and so prevent the ruin of the husbandmen. That part of the country which lies upon the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea, is full of serpents, toads, scorpions, and other venomous insects, which in summer-time die, many of them for want of water, and infect the air, rendering that part of the country very unhealthy at that season.

Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate size, and their sting is mortal, if

is in such torture, that he becomes raving mad for some time. Musquitoes or gnats are very troublesome in the flat country, near the Caspian Sea; and there is a white fly no bigger than a flea in Persia, which makes no noise, but its sting is like the prick of a pin. Here is also the millepedes, almost like a caterpillar, and whose bite is as pernicious as the sting of a scorpion; the Persians call them hezarpai, or a thousand feet.

10. There are the same sorts of tame and wild fowl in Persia as in Europe; as geese, hens, ducks, partridges, snipes, &c.; but more of them in the north than in the south part of the country. Turkies have been carried to Ispahan, but they do not thrive. The breed of pigeons they take all imaginable care to increase and propagate, on account of their dung, with which they raise their melons. Their dove-houses are five times as large as ours, of a round figure, and handsomely built of brick; of these, it is said, there are not less than three thousand in the city of Ispahan only. The dung is always sold for four-pence the bisty, or twelve pounds weight, and the government, it seems, lay a small tax upon it. Their partridges are reckoned the largest and best tasted that are to be met with.

The pelican, which the Persians call tacob, or the water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their fowls, for the body of it is said to be as large as a sheep, its head at the same time wonderful small, but a large bill of sixteen or eighteen inches long, as big as a man's arm, and under the bill there is a large bag, travellers tell us, which will hold a pail of water; they build their nests in the deserts, where there is no water, and consequently no inhabitants, for their security, and frequently go two days' journey for water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in the receptacle above mentioned to last for some time, if we may give entire credit to these accounts.

There is another extraordinary bird mentioned by travellers, in the province of Chorasan, which has such an appetite towards the water of a certain spring in that country, and such sagacity in discovering it, that they will follow any person that carries it in a bottle several hundreds of miles. As to eagles, hawks, falcons, and other birds of prey, there is no country where they have more, or where they are better instructed, than in Persia. The Shah has eight hundred or a thousand of them, and there is no man of any figure without his hawks and his falconers; and their hawks are taught not only to fly at birds but at hares, deer, and all manner of wild beasts, and by fixing themselves on the head of the animal, and beating him with their wings, he is so terrified and distracted, that the dogs and huntsmen which follow have very little difficulty in taking him; and the Persians, it is said, breed up the very crows to fly at game.

There are the same kinds of singing birds in Persia as with us, such as the linnet, the chaffinch, the nightingale, the lark, &c.; and some birds there are which are taught to speak, but no parrots or parroquets on this side India. However, there are several party-coloured birds to be seen in Persia, with a plumage of blue, green, and yellow, beautifully mixed. Of sparrows there are such numbers, that they are very troublesome to the husbandmen, who are forced to place their servants in the fields all day long when the harvest approaches, to keep them from their corn.

In the heart of Persia there are scarce any fish to be met with, the few rivulets they have hardly supplying the country with water for necessary uses, and in the summer time they are almost all dried up; even the river Zenderhood, to which the government, at a prodigious expence, have joined other streams for the supply of the city of Ispahan, is perfectly lost in the sandy deserts about twenty leagues from thence; and it may be doubted whether there be one stream which rises in the middle of the kingdom that ever reaches the sea in the summer; though in the spring, when the snow melts on the mountains, they make a considerable figure. In the Caspian Sea and the Persian



Arras, which fall into the Caspian, have plenty of river-fish, but they lie at two great a distance from Ispahan to supply that city ; so that fish is very rarely eaten there.

11. We are to speak next of the metals and minerals in this country ; and to proceed methodically, we ought to begin with those of gold and silver, if any were now wrought in Persia, but there are not ; for, notwithstanding what old writers relate of the rich mines in Bactriana, and that almost all the Persian authors agree, that there are mines of this metal in Chorasan, yet from the neighbourhood of the Tartars they have been long neglected ; and it is the same with respect to the silver mines in other places, though from the accounts lately given by Tavernier, one would suspect that the Persians are but indifferently skilled in the art of mining, and that of refining of metals ; they have, however, good mines of iron, steel, copper, and lead. The iron and steel mines are in Hircania, Media, and the provinces of Erak and Chorasan ; their steel is so full of sulphur, that if the filings are thrown into the fire, they will give a report like gunpowder ; it has a fine grain, but is as brittle as glass, and the Persian artificers, who do not understand how to give it a due temper, cannot for that reason make wheels or springs, or any minute pieces of workmanship. Their copper mines are most of them near Seris, in the mountains of Mazanderan ; they mix it with Swedish and Japan copper, and the proportion is one part foreign to twenty of their own metal.

The lead mines are, most of them, near the city of Yezd, and in these are found the greatest quantity of silver. Sulphur and saltpetre are dug in the mountain Damaverd, which divides Hircania from the province of Erak. Antimony is found in Carmania, but it is a bastard sort. Emery is had near Niris ; vitriol and mercury they have none, and their tin is imported from abroad. There are two kinds of salt in Persia, the one upon the surface of the ground, the other dug out of the rock : there are plains of ten or twelve leagues over quite covered with salt, as others are with sulphur and alum. The salt is so hard in some parts of Carmania, that the poor people make use of it instead of stone to build their cottages.

Their marble is either white, black, or red, and some veined with white and red ; it is dug near Hamadan, and in Chufistan some of it will break into large flakes or tables like slate, but the best comes from Tauris, which is almost as transparent as crystal. This kind is white, mixed with green. In the country about Tauris also is found the mineral azure, but this is not so good as that which comes from Tartary, losing its colour by degrees. In the provinces of Fars and Shirvan there is found abundance of bole armoniac, and so rich and fat a marl, that the country people use it instead of soap. There are some mines of isinglass in the same country. In several parts of Persia we meet with naptha, both white and black ; it is used in painting and varnish, and sometimes in physic, and there is an oil extracted from it which is applied to several uses. The most famous springs of Naptha are in the neighbourhood of the town of Baku, which furnish vast quantities ; and there are also upwards of thirty springs about Shamaschy, both in the province of Shirwan. The Persians use it as oil for their lamps, and in making fire-works, of which they are extremely fond, and in which they are great proficients.

But the most valuable product of the Persian mines is the turquoise, concerning which there have been so many mistakes made, that notwithstanding we find ourselves pressed for room, we cannot avoid treating somewhat largely upon this subject. In the first place, it is asserted that it derives its name from Turkey, which is true enough when rightly understood, but absolutely false according to the common acceptation ; for there neither is or never was any of these stones found in the dominions of the Turks, but in the country of Turcomania, which was indeed the seat of that nation, though for any thing I know, this has never been observed by the writers upon this subject. These

Persia, and from Persia only; and these are distinguished into those of the old and those of the new rock; the former are taken out of the mines of Nicapour and Carasson, and, as Sir John Chardin justly observes, differ greatly from other stones that bear the same name. They are hard, firm, of a beautiful blue, inclining a little to a green, take a fine polish, and are never observed to lose their colour. The Shah endeavours to preserve these entirely for himself; and though after chusing the largest and the finest, he permits the smaller turquoises to be sold, yet foreign merchants are not contented with that manner of dealing, but have struck out a better. The officers belonging to the mines, and their servants, frequently deceive the Shah, and instead of sending him the finest and largest, vend those for their own profit, but always to Europeans, that they may be less liable to discovery; and by this means very fine turquoises find their way into these parts of the world. The new rock is at five miles distant from the old, and the stones are softer, less firm, veiny, of a green, inclining to blue, and are apt in process of time, to lose their colour. The occidental turquoises are found in Bohemia, France, and other countries, but they are not valued, and have generally the same faults with those taken from the new rock.

Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, in the last transactions of the Royal Society, for the months of January and February 1747, has given us a much better account of these stones than I ever met with before; and distinguishes them very justly into true and false turquoises; the former, he says, is a true mineral substance, impregnated with copper ore, which is highly probable, for there is no country in the world that has more copper mines than Persia; the latter is an ivory or boney substance, tinged also with some metallic juice, and probably that of copper, which is a discovery worthy of notice, as it frees this subject from abundance of difficulties, under which it has hitherto laboured.

12. After having taken a view of the country, and of its produce, we will speak next of the habitations erected upon it, and this will naturally lead us to the principal cities that yet remain to be described; but without taking a previous view of what with them passes for magnificent buildings, such descriptions would be in a manner unintelligible. The houses of persons of quality here are generally built in the middle of a fine garden, and make little or no appearance to the street, for there you see nothing but a dead wall, with a great gate in the middle of the wall, and perhaps a skreen or wall within the gate, to prevent people looking in; so fond are they of privacy and retirement. Another thing that the Persians differ from us in is, that they seldom have more than one floor, which is laid out in this manner; in the front of the house stands a little piazza, or cloister, open before, where they sit and transact their ordinary affairs; beyond this is a large hall, eighteen or twenty feet high, which is used at great entertainments, or on any solemn occasions: on the farther side of the house is another piazza, with a basin or fountain of water before it, beyond which runs a walk of fine trees, as there does also from the street to the house: at each corner of the hall is a parlour or lodging room (for it serves for both purposes); between those parlours on the sides, there are doors out of a hall into an open square space, as large as the rooms at the corners; there are also several doors out of the hall into the piazza, before and behind the house; so that in the hot season they can set open nine or ten doors at once in the great hall, and if there be any air stirring, they will have the benefit of it.

In some palaces there is a handsome basin, and a fountain playing in the middle of the hall, which contributes still more to the coolness of the place. The walls of their houses are built sometimes of burnt bricks, but more commonly of bricks dried in the sun. The walls are of considerable thickness, and the roof of the great hall is arched, and five or six feet higher than the other rooms about it. The roofs of the buildings on



every side of the hall are flat, and there is a pair of stairs up to the top, where the Persians walk in the cool of the day, and sometimes carry up a mattress, and lie there all night, there being balusters all round the top of the building. As for the kitchens and other offices, they are at a distance on the right or left, and it is observable, that all their rooms, except the hall, stand separate, and there is no passage out of one into another, but only from the hall; chimneys there are some, but usually, instead of a chimney, there is a round hole, about four or five feet broad, and a foot and a half deep, in the middle of the room, in which a charcoal fire is made, and the place covered with a thick board or table, about a foot high, so close that no smoke can get out, and over that table is thrown a large carpet, under which they put their legs in cold weather, and sit round, there being a passage for the smoke by pipes laid under the floor. The doors of their houses are narrow, and seldom turn upon hinges as ours do, but there is a round piece left at the top and bottom of the door which is let into the frame above and below, on which they turn, and the very locks and bolts are frequently made of wood.

As to their furniture, it consists only in carpets spread on the floor, with cushions and pillows to lean on, and at night there is a mattress brought to sleep on, and a quilt or two to cover them, but very seldom any sheets are used. As to their servants, they lie about in any passage upon mats, and take up very little room. The floors of the rooms are either paved or made of a hard cement, on which they lay a coarse cloth, and over that a carpet: the sides of some of their rooms are lined with fine tiles about a yard high, and the rest of them well painted, or hung with pictures.

13. Ispahan, or as it is pronounced, Spahawn, is situated in thirty-two degrees forty minutes north latitude, and in the fiftieth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It stands in a fine plain, almost surrounded with mountains, which lie about two or three leagues from it, and the form is pretty near oval. The river Zenderhood runs by it at about a mile distance, but there are several channels and pipes above the town, which convey the water from it into canals and basons, for the service of the court and city. The town is without walls, and about ten or twelve miles in circumference. Those who extend it ten leagues take in the town of Julpha, and several others. There were formerly twelve gates to the town, but four of them are now closed up, the others are always open; as for the walls, which some travellers mention, it is probable there was a mud wall formerly, but there is no part of the wall visible at present. There is an old castle, it is true, without artillery, which runs to ruin, but is no more tenable than the town.

The streets of Ispahan are for the most part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding dirty or dusty, for scarce any of them are paved, and though there are no coaches or carts, yet all people of fashion riding through them with great trains of servants, renders the passage not very pleasant. There are, however, some very fine squares in the town, particularly the royal square or meidan, into which there opens two of the palace gates. On the sides of this square, which is one-third of a mile in length, and more than half as much in breadth, are buildings with shops on both sides, where every particular trade has a quarter assigned, and there is a second story where the mechanics have their working-shops. There seems to be little difference between these exchanges and ours, but that those of Ispahan have no windows, but great openings at proper distances to let in the light, and people ride through them as they do along the streets.

In the middle of the square there is a market for horses and cattle, and all manner of goods and provisions are exposed to sale, though the great Shah Abbas, who built the square, designed it for manly exercises, and particularly those of horsemanship, and handling

handling the bow and lance, at which no people are more dextrous than the Persians. On that side of the square next the palace there is a fine row of trees planted, and a handsome basin of water, and some great brass guns, which were taken from the Portuguese at Ormus, serve to make a show.

There stands a great mosque at the south end of the square, and another mosque on the east side over against the great gate of the palace; several streets in Ispahan are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this seems to be peculiar to the Persian towns. Another thing they seem to be particular in is, that their houses and shops are never in the same places, and it is a common thing for a tradesman to go half a mile in the morning to the bazar, or market-place, where his shop is, and in the night-time they lock up their valuable goods in chests and counters, and the rest they leave packed up, sometimes in the open square, and it is very rare any thing is lost; so careful are the watch appointed to guard their market-places, or so very little given to thieving are the people in this part of the world, and no doubt the speedy and exemplary punishments inflicted upon pilferers is one great means to deter them from it.

As to foreign merchants, they lodge their goods in the public caravanferais about the city, which serve them also instead of inns for lodging and diet; but there is this difference between an inn and a caravanferai, that every person finds his own bedding and cookery in the caravanferai, whereas in our inns we have not that trouble. There are two things, however, that render a caravanferai preferable to an inn; one is, that a person is not subject to the extortions of an innkeeper, but buys his provisions at the best hand; and the other, that let the merchant take up ever so many rooms, he shall not be disturbed in them, and pays but a trifle for his warehouse or lodgings; and upon the road he pays nothing. There are not, it seems, less than fifteen hundred of these public caravanferais in Ispahan, which have been erected by charitable people for the use of strangers; most of them are built after one model, and differ only in the dimensions. There is a handsome portal at the entrance, on each side of which are shops, from whence you enter into a square, about which there is a cloister or piazza, and within are lodging-rooms and warehouses for goods: there is also stabling and conveniences for horses and other beasts on the outside, or they may be brought into the square and fastened there, as is frequently done upon the road, more especially where there is danger of robbers.

As to taverns, there are none at Ispahan, their religion prohibiting wine. However, some of the Persians will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handsome coffee-houses in the principal parts of the town, where people meet and talk politics, though they have no printed papers in them, and there we meet with some amusements peculiar to the country, as the harangues of their poets, historians, and priests, who hold forth and get a crowd about them; and it seems they expect a small present from their audience for their amusements and instructions.

14. The buildings of the palace, with the gardens belonging to it, take up above a league in compass. The two gates which come up to the royal meidan or square, are, one of them called alicapi, and the other, doulet cuna; over one of them is a gallery where the Shah used to sit and see martial exercises performed on horseback. No part of the palace where the court resides comes up to the royal square; but having entered the principal gate, there is a hall or court on the left hand, where the vizier and other judges administer justice on certain days; and on the right are rooms where offenders are allowed to take sanctuary. From hence to the hall, where the Shah usually gives audience, is a handsome walk: it is a long room, well painted and gilded, and supported by forty pillars; it is divided into three parts, one a step higher than the other,



on which the great officers stand according to their rank. As to hereditary nobility, there is no such thing in Persia. On the third ascent is the royal throne, raised about a foot and a half above the floor, and about eight feet square, on which is spread a rich carpet; here the Shah sits on it cross-legged upon solemn occasions, having a brocade cushion under him, and another at his back.

As to the rest of the apartments of the palace, and particularly the haram, or women's apartment, neither foreigners or natives can give an exact description of them, none being permitted to enter but the eunuchs; but in general we are told, that they consist in separate pleasure-houses dispersed about the gardens, much of the same form with the houses first described, and that their great beauty consists in the fine walks, fountains, and cascades about them. Beyond the gardens the Shah has a large park, walled in, where the ladies hunt, and take their pleasure with the Prince. In this city are above one hundred and fifty mosques or temples, covered with domes or cupolas, which appearing through the trees that are planted almost over the town, in the streets and gardens, afford a noble prospect; but the common buildings are so low, that they are hardly discerned by one who takes a view of the town on the outside.

All Christians being prohibited to enter their mosques, or even to come within their courts, under severe penalties, it is not easy to meet with a particular description of them. There is a gate which leads to the great mosque covered with silver plates. Through this tower you proceed to a court with a piazza or cloister on each side, where the priests lodge who belong to the mosque. Opposite to the great gate are three large doors which open into it. The five isles the mosque is composed of are beautified with gold and azure. In the middle is the cupola, supported by four great square pillars; the isles on the sides are lower than that in the middle, and borne upon thick columns of free-stone; two great windows towards the top of the middle isle give light to the whole mosque; on the left hand towards the middle stands a kind of pulpit, with stone steps to go up to it; the bricks and tiles on the outside of the building are painted with various colours, after the manner of Persia, and the floor of the mosque is covered with carpets, all people putting off their shoes as they enter it; there are no seats or pews as in the Christian temples, or any kind of imagery or pictures. The outside is stone, and the walls lined fifteen feet high with white polished marble; and in the middle of the square, before the mosque, is a large basin, where they wash themselves before they enter the temple. The mosques have, most of them, cupolas, with steeples or towers, whither the mollahs go up to summon the people to their devotions, according to the Mahometan mode, making no use of bells.

15. The numerous hummums, or bagnios, in this city is another subject of travellers' admiration; some of these are square buildings, but most of them globular. The stone of which they are built is usually white and well polished; the tops are covered with tiles painted blue; the insides are divided into many cells or chambers, some for pleasure and others for sweating, and the floors are laid with black and white marble. The Persians bathe almost every day, looking upon it to be extremely conducive to health, an effectual remedy for cold or aches, and many other distempers. But what is admired as much by foreigners as any thing about Isfahan, is the charbag, being a walk above a hundred yards wide, and extending a mile in length, from the city to the river Zenderhood; on each side are planted double rows of trees, and in the middle runs a canal, not continued upon a level, but at every furlong's distance the water falls into a large basin and forms a cascade, and the sides both of the canal and basins are lined with hewnstone, broad enough for several men to walk abreast upon them. On each side of this walk are the royal gardens, and those of the great men, with pleasure-houses.

houses, at small distances, and altogether form as agreeable a prospect as can be imagined.

At the end of this walk is a bridge over the river Zenderhood, which leads to the town of Julpha; there are also two other bridges, one on the right and the other to the left, by which the neighbouring villages have a communication with the city, and which most of our travellers are pleased to call its suburbs, though they are distant a mile from Ispahan, and on the other side the river. These bridges are taken notice of for the oddness of the architecture, for it seems on each side, both above and below, are arched passages, through which people ride and walk from one end of the bridge to the other, as in the covered streets of the city; and at little distances there are openings to admit the light. The arches of these bridges are not very high, there being no vessels to pass under them, for this river is not navigable any more than the rest of the Persian streams. It is true, in the spring, on the melting of the snows on the mountains, it makes a pretty good appearance, but at the latter end of the summer the channel is exceeding narrow and shallow, insomuch that there is not water enough for the gardens which belong to the city; to supply the want whereof they have abundance of wells about Ispahan, of very good water for all domestic uses.

16. The town, or rather the borough, of Julpha, stands on the south side of the river Zenderhood; and though there are many who look upon it as a suburb of Ispahan, yet it certainly deserves to be considered by itself, as being a very large and a very considerable town, the buildings of which are more regular, and to the full as magnificent as those of Ispahan. It is generally reckoned two miles in length, and about a mile in breadth, and is, beyond comparison, taking all circumstances together, the finest place in Persia; for, with respect to houses, trade, manufactures and industry, there is nothing comes near it; and as to beautiful walks of trees, cooling shades, delightful fountains, pleasant gardens, and magnificent summer-houses, they are every where to be met with. The principal inhabitants are the Armenians, and besides these there are Georgians, Circassians, Mingrelians, and other Christians, but no Mahometans who dwell in it. The foundation of this place and the rise of the Armenians, who are now as considerable merchants as any in the world, are events that deserve our notice.

It was the famous Shah Abbas who first took notice of the candour, affability, diligence, penetration, and integrity of the Armenians, in the management of their little concerns in their native country, where they were liable to the incursions of the Persians and the Turks. He was not only an ambitious and powerful but a very wise and prudent prince; he was desirous of introducing trade into his dominions, where, till his reign, it was hardly known; and no less desirous of inspiring his subjects with the same views, who were little acquainted therewith. In order to accomplish these great and laudable designs, he thought it proper to establish a staple commodity, by way of foundation, and for that purpose fixed upon silk. He then transported twenty or thirty Armenians into the province of Gilan, where they acquitted themselves so well, that in a very short space of time vast quantities of silk were made there. Encouraged by this happy beginning, he demolished the town of Old Julpha in Armenia, as has been shewn in the former section, and transported the inhabitants into the neighbourhood of Ispahan, where, by his royal munificence, and under his powerful protection, they built the place of which we are now speaking, and by his direction undertook to distribute all the silk that was not wrought up by Persian manufacturers, through Asia and Europe, a reasonable price being first fixed, which at their return they were obliged to pay, all the profit being left to themselves; when it was necessary, the Shah ad-  
vanced



vanced them money for carrying on their commerce, but by degrees, and as they grew wealthy, the government no longer took any share in their trade.

In this manner, from the right notions of one man, and from his just views for the benefit of his subjects, arose all the trade of the Armenians, who are now become a nation of merchants, and carry on the most extensive dealings of any people in the world; for besides their establishments here, and in all the great cities of Persia, they spread over the whole East, carry on a prodigious trade in Russia, and have factors of their own nation in most of the great trading cities in Europe. In short, they are become as noted in this respect as the Jews; but what redounds eternally to their reputation, their application to trade, and their dealings as brokers has not in the least lessened their character for candour or probity; they are diligent, affable and discreet, but content with a moderate profit; serve those that employ them faithfully; are grateful to their benefactors; love each other as brethren, and are extremely useful to all the countries in which they are settled. This digression in favour of such a sort of men, and in order to explain the prudence and public spirit of Shah Abbas their patron, and such of his successors as chose to tread in his steps, we thought might be agreeable to the reader, though it carried us a little out of our road, to which we shall now return, in order to continue the description we have promised of the principal cities in Persia, before those confusions began that have produced such fatal alterations.

17.\*The city of Shiraz, or Sheraz, as we pronounce it, lies about two hundred miles to the southward of Ispahan, in twenty-nine degrees fifty minutes of north latitude, and is usually reckoned the second city of the kingdom. It is the capital of the province of Fars, or the ancient Persia; some will have the name derived from Cyrus the Great, there being a tradition that he was buried there; others say it is derived from Sherab, which in the Persian tongue signifies a grape, because that fruit abounds in this place; and others from the word Sheer, which signifies milk; but as it is not very material from whence the name is derived, so I believe it is impossible to determine at this day. The town is seated in a pleasant fertile valley, about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and has a rivulet running through it, which in the spring has the appearance of a large river, and sometimes increases to such a torrent as to bear down the houses in its way, but in the summer is almost dry. There are no walls about the place, nor does it contain above four thousand houses at present: the compass of it is reckoned to be about seven miles, but then it is to be considered that much the greatest part of this space is garden.

The public buildings taken notice of are the viceroy's palace, the mosques, bagnios, the vaulted streets and caravanferais, which being of the same model as those of Ispahan, do not need a particular description here; only it is observable, that they let most of their buildings run to ruin, as in other towns of Persia; every generation chusing to build new houses, rather than use those of their ancestors. It is remarked also, that there is no place where the Mahometan superstition prevails more than here, there being a mosque or temple to every twenty houses almost, their domes covered with blue varnished tiles, make a pretty appearance among the trees; here is also a college where the liberal arts are studied, of which the fame is great for breeding many persons of renowned learning.

The streets of Sheraz are for the most part narrow and dusty, but there are some broad ones with canals and basons faced with stone: but what Sheraz is most remarkable for, is the fine gardens and vineyards about it. The cypress-trees, of which their walks are chiefly composed, are the tallest and largest that are any where to be found,  
and

and grow in a pyramidal form ; intermixed with these are several broad spreading trees, and all manner of fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, lemons, cherries, pears, apricots, dates, &c. None of these are planted against the walls, as with us, but stand in the alleys, and sometimes irregularly, as in a wilderness. They have also abundance of sweet flowers of various colours, but not planted in that regular order as in the gardens of Europe. Their vineyards and wines are preferable to any in Persia, and the canals, cascades, fountains, and pleasure-houses in their gardens, are not at all inferior to those of Ispahan. The Shah's garden here is no less than two thousand paces square, and surrounded with a wall fourteen feet high ; but of late years the gardens, as well as the buildings of Sheraz, have been pretty much neglected.

18. Thirty miles to the north-east of Sheraz are found the noblest ruins of an ancient palace or temple, that are now to be seen on the face of the earth ; even Rome itself, as it is said, has nothing comparable to these venerable remains of antiquity ; the place at this day is called Chilmaner, or forty pillars. Mr. Herbert says, it was built upon a mountain of dark-coloured marble, and the steps hewed out of the solid rock ; but others who have viewed it more narrowly since observe, that the steps are composed of large stones, fifteen or sixteen feet in length, and of such a thickness, that six or seven steps are cut out of one stone, the whole being so artificially joined, that they appear to be but one piece, which might easily occasion Mr. Herbert to mistake. It is seated at the north-east end of that spacious plain where Persepolis once stood, and generally held to be part of the palace of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great. The front of this palace stood towards the west, and was about five hundred paces in length, the whole taking up near threescore acres of ground. The ascent to it is by ninety-five steps, thirty feet in length, and twenty inches broad, but not more than three inches deep, so that a horse may easily go up or down them. The staircase divides as you ascend, one branch winding to the right, and the other to the left, each having a wall on one side, and a marble balustrade on the other ; afterwards both branches turn again, and end at a large square landing-place, from whence you go into a portico of white marble, twenty feet wide. On it are carved in bas-relievo two beasts as big as elephants, but their bodies are like horses, and their feet and tails like oxen.

Ten feet farther stand two fluted columns of whitish stone, about sixty feet high, besides their capitals and bases, and as thick as three men can fathom ; a little farther stand two other pilasters, carved like the first, only that the beasts on the latter have wings and men's heads. Beyond this portal or hall is such another double staircase, leading to the upper rooms, twenty-five feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former ; for on its walls are carved in bas-relief, a kind of triumph, consisting of a great train of people in distinct companies, carrying some banners, and others offerings, and after all comes a chariot drawn by several horses, with a little altar upon it, from whence the flames of fire seem to ascend. On the other side are carved wild beasts fighting, and among others, a lion and a bull are cut with great exactness, and so hard is the stone, that to this day the most curious part of the workmanship is preserved. On the top of the second staircase is a square place, which has been surrounded with columns, whereof seventeen only are now standing, but there are a hundred pedestals ; those that are left are of red and white marble fluted, some of them sixty, and others seventy feet high, and twelve of them near three fathoms round. These, some antiquaries imagine, supported the temple of the Sun.

On the same floor near those columns is a place fifty feet square, enclosed with walls six or seven feet thick, of a much finer marble than any that hath been yet mentioned.



and so wonderfully carved, that it would take up several days to view all the figures ; which way soever a man turns himself in this second floor, there appears figures cut in bas and half relieve. Here you see men fighting with lions, and in another place a man holding a unicorn by the horn ; in a third, you see the figures of giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving audience to his people or ambassadors ; and numberless other scenes. Here are also abundance of inscriptions, in lasting characters, which have been transcribed and brought into Europe, but none of them understood at this day by the learned, any more than they are by the people of the country : this glorious palace, or temple, with the whole city of Persepolis, the noblest and wealthiest then in the world, was burnt to the ground by Alexander the Great, about the year of the world 3724, at the persuasion of Lais the Athenian harlot, as is said, in revenge for the towns the Persian Emperors had destroyed in Greece.

19. In the former section, and in this, almost all the great cities have been described as they stood in time past, and as they are represented to us by such as had seen them ; yet these accounts bear but very little relation to those places at this day ; for in the course of the civil wars and confusions with which this empire has been overwhelmed, there is hardly any one of these cities that has escaped. Tauris has been plundered over and over ; Schiras burnt to the ground ; and even Spahawn has suffered not a little. The port of Gambron, or Bander Abassi, has been always considered since the time of Shah Abbas, as one of the richest jewels of the Persian diadem ; and, notwithstanding the badness of the air, and some inconveniences that attended the port, it was always a place of great trade, and might have been a place of much greater trade, if the succeeding monarchs of Persia had been princes of the like spirit, and had conceived as just notions of commerce as he did.

By their fault it was, that the greatest part of the Persian trade came to be carried on by land through Turkey, which was neither agreeable to the interests of the Persians, nor requisite for transporting their commodities to Europe, for which other means might have been employed. But when Shah Nadir had assumed the empire, and by his amazing successes had acquired so great a power, that he thought himself in no kind of danger from his neighbours, he began to entertain notions of commerce, which, like all his other notions, were of a stamp peculiar to himself, and which do not seem, from any of the accounts that we have met with, to have been at all understood in Europe. He saw plainly, that the Turks were prodigiously enriched by the carrying on of the Persian trade for silk through their country, and this he was resolved to prevent at any rate. It was with this view, that he formed a project, which we have more than once mentioned, of forcing a passage to the Black Sea, and thereby opening a direct trade with Europe, which, with all his power, he could never effect. He then turned his thoughts towards the Caspian ; and having recovered the province of Gilan from the Russians, and provided effectually against any impressions they could make upon his territories by land, he resolved to carry on the trade of Persia that way, by the assistance of the Armenians, and to restore the credit of that nation, which had been very much sunk in Persia, by the vast losses that had been sustained by their establishment at Julpha, which, in the course of the civil wars, has been almost totally ruined.

But besides these schemes he had another, the grounds of which it would take up too much room to explain ; and, therefore, I shall content myself with barely saying, that from certain motives, that appeared to him reasonable, he determined to remove the capital of Persia, and instead of fixing, as his predecessors had done, the imperial residence at Isfahan, he resolved to transfer it northward, and so place the seat of his

empire in the province of Chorasan, to which perhaps he might in some measure be determined by his fondness for his native country. He fixed there upon the town of Mesched, which had been formerly the capital of the province. It is to be observed, that the word Metschid signifies, both in the Persian and Turkish languages, ■ house or temple consecrated to the service of God, and it is from thence that we have framed our word Mosque. The name of this city therefore implies a great mosque, and it was so called from one of the finest in that part of the world, erected over the tomb of the Iman Riza, a great saint; which rendered it a place frequented by pilgrims, who out of charity erected there several public structures of great magnificence. It was besides famous for its manufactures of all sorts, such as gold and silver brocades, tapestry, rich silks, and woollen stuff, as beautiful and as dear as silks; there was besides a manufacture of earthenware, which was looked upon as the best in Asia, on this side China; so that an age ago this city for mosques, public baths, caravanserais, bazars, and other public structures, was not in the least inferior to any city in Persia; but the Usbeck Tartars had so totally destroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent figure when the Shah Nadir made choice of it for the seat of his empire.

The city of Mesched is situated in the latitude of thirty-five degrees twenty minutes north upon a small stream that falls into the river Kurgan, which separates the province of Chorasan from Astarabat; and it may be very truly affirmed, that a happier situation there is not in the world. The air is extremely mild and temperate, the soil about it wonderfully fruitful, and while it continues the capital of the empire, there is no doubt that the Tartars will be kept at a sufficient distance. While Shah Nadir was employed in his expedition against the Mogul, his eldest son Riza Kuli Mirza resided there with the title and authority of Shah of Persia; by his care the city was rebuilt and restored to its ancient lustre, and such privileges granted to the inhabitants, as not only came up to but exceeded those that former Shahs had granted to the people of Isfahan. This young Prince was not contented with barely attending to the civil government of the empire, he was desirous of displaying also his military capacity, which induced him to attack the Khan of Balkh, the sovereign of the southern part of Great Bucharria; which country, together with its capital, he reduced, and thereby gained not only an accession of territory, but one of the greatest and best cities in those parts, Balkh having been, for several ages, the center of the commerce carried on by land to and from the Indies.

By this establishment, and these conquests, the face of affairs in Persia is absolutely changed, and this is a thing that has not hitherto been sufficiently considered. It is possible, and, indeed, it is probable, that the southern provinces of the Persian empire will suffer extremely by this alteration; and it is not altogether unlikely, that if a civil war arises from the death of the late Shah, a new principality may be erected in the southern parts, of which Spahawn, or some other great city, may become the capital; but still Mesched will, in all probability, remain the seat of the Persian empire, and the monarchs who govern there will extend their conquests northwards, through countries formerly indeed dependent upon the Persians, but which have been for many ages in the hands of the Tartars; and if this should be the case, we must consider ourselves extremely happy in having set on foot a trade through Russia into Persia by the Caspian Sea; by which the most lucrative part of the commerce of that empire will fall into our hands, and may be justly esteemed the fruits of our great naval power, and the effects of sending our squadrons into the Baltic, which gave the court of Petersburg such an impression of our power to assist or distress them, as it is our interest to take care that time should never efface.



20. We promised to say somewhat of the ancient and present state of the country and people of Persia, considered in a comparative light, and we will endeavour to execute this as succinctly as possible. The learned Dr. Hyde wrote an admirable treatise in Latin, of the religion of the ancient Persians; a work equally curious and useful, and which, notwithstanding, was so ill received by the public, that the Doctor boiled his teakettle with the greatest part of the impression, which has made it so scarce, that from its natural price of ten shillings, or less, it is now sold for two guineas; and even at that price will not be esteemed dear by such as can judge of its real value. It is from this learned book that we are informed of what we should otherwise never have known, that the ancient Persians, on whom the Greeks bestowed the name of Barbarians, were in reality the best governed, the politest, and the most civilized nation upon the face of the earth. Their religion was far more incorrupt than those of Egypt, Greece, or Rome, for they worshipped only one God; and though they were over-run with superstition, they never degenerated into atheism or idolatry. The common people were, from principle, extremely industrious; they cultivated their country with the utmost care, inasmuch that those districts that are now sandy deserts were then perfect gardens; and many rich and populous cities were seated in places that at this day are waste and howling wildernesses. Yet there even still remain clear and indisputable proofs of the truth of what this learned gentleman has asserted, and these are of two kinds; First, The ruins and remains of this ancient magnificence, which even the iron teeth of Time have not been able to destroy, as appears from what the reader has been told of Persepolis; and next, from the temper and disposition of that remnant of the ancient Persians, Gubers, Gaurs, or fire-worshippers, that are still left in this country and in India, and who are, beyond all controversy, the most quiet, industrious, and most inoffensive nation, if we may yet style them so, on the face of the globe. The seat of their present habitations is the wildest and worst part of the province of Kerman, and yet even there the small districts they possess, appear a kind of paradise in comparison of the country about; and by them those woollen stuffs are wrought, which the modern Persians, from a true principle of luxury, think too good for any body's wear but their own, and therefore never suffer them to be carried out of their dominions.

As for these people, it is no wonder that they have brought the same discredit upon the large and fruitful provinces they inhabit, that the Turks have done upon the land of Canaan; and, indeed, it is the genius of the Mahometan religion to deface all marks of former improvements, as well as to receive no benefit from such examples. The wars, by which this empire has been continually wasted since it fell into the hands of its present possessors, has contributed not a little to thin it of people; so that now there are not above a twentieth part of the people in Persia that there were at the time that Alexander invaded it. Besides this, there are several nations scattered up and down it, that are rather vassals than subjects to the Shahs, and live after the manner of the Tartars in their tents. The want of a settled nobility, and the little security that the people in general have for their fortunes, is another great obstacle to the cultivating their lands, and the improvement of their cities. We may add to this, the revolutions and civil wars which have been so frequent in Persia; as also the incursions of the Tartars and other barbarous nations, from which they are hardly ever free. As to the laziness and luxury of the Persians, though it is in one sense a cause of the wide difference between the past and present state of their empire, yet considered in another light, it is the source of what little commerce they have; for as they are not willing to work themselves,

themselves, they are very ready to let other nations dwell amongst them ; and provided they reap the fruits of their industry, treat them fairly and civilly enough, without any mixture of that haughty, insolent and unbridled temper which is so hateful and so intolerable among the Turks. Besides, as they spend without the least consideration all they get, this occasions a quick circulation of money, so that the Armenians, Indians, and other foreigners that live amongst them, pick up a tolerable livelihood, and are not imposed upon and oppressed as in the territories of the Grand Signior.

It is the want of people that makes a great part of Persia lie waste and barren ; and the natural fertility of the country is another cause of this, for even the few parts that are now cultivated produce much more than is necessary for the subsistence of its inhabitants ; and it is from thence that their trade and their riches arise ; for since there are no mines now wrought in Persia, what gold and silver they have comes into that country by the purchase of their silks, and other rich commodities ; whence the reader will easily discern how powerful and how happy the people might be under a settled government, that paid some tolerable respect to the welfare of its subjects ; but after all, this is hardly to be hoped for while in the hands of the Mahometans, who, on the one hand, are very little inclined to any kind of industry themselves, and, on the other, are very apt to be jealous of their Christian subjects thriving, though they are the better for it. While the Russians were masters of Gilan, which was but for a very short space, the inhabitants were so sensible of the change, that there was nothing they dreaded so much as returning again under the dominion of their old masters ; and when this actually happened, great numbers of them quitted their habitations, and retired into the neighbouring parts of Georgia, Dagestan and Armenia, that they might avoid falling under the yoke of Thamas Kuli Kan, notwithstanding that was as light, at least in time of peace, as any of the former Shahs.

21. It is to very little purpose that we increase the stock of our knowledge by reading, unless we enable ourselves to make some use of it by reflection ; as a trader does not thrive by having his warehouses stocked with goods, but by his knowing where and how to carry them to market. We see plainly from the description of the Persian empire, at the beginning of this section, that in point of territory the Shah's of Persia are very little inferior to any of the great monarchs in the universe ; but we know experimentally, that for all this the princes of this country, from the time of Shah Abbas, have made but a very indifferent figure, and are not like to make a better in time to come. This shews us the terrible effects of arbitrary power, a thing altogether insupportable ; but from the wisdom of some great princes, who by dissembling and letting it down, preserve it. Shah Nadir had this in his will, but never in his power ; he had acquired his authority by being at the head of an army, and he found it impossible to sustain it any other way than by remaining at the head of it ; for he neither durst disband his troops, nor could he trust them any longer than they were employed ; this was the true reason of his Indian expedition, and this must be the case till such time as the army by which he attained his sovereignty is in some measure worn out, and then, perhaps, the feebleness of the state may draw upon it foreign invasions.

If either the extent or the quality of countries could make princes easy or happy, the sovereigns of Persia might be so without making slaves of their subjects or disturbing their neighbours. We may from hence also discover the value of right principles with regard to industry and commerce, which always include due respect to liberty and property, without which the former can never subsist, and the latter can never be attained. If we could with any probability suppose that a well-constituted government could take place, and be thoroughly established in Persia, it is very evident, that in the space of a



century, not only the affairs, but the very face of the country would be changed; their great cities would be repeopled, the trade through Persia to India and Tartary would be revived, their silk-works and manufactures would be restored, and multitudes of people would flock into all their provinces for the sake of that plenty which, in such a situation of things, they would be sure to enjoy. But as this supposition is on the one hand improbable, so, on the other, it is very evident that for this very reason the Persian monarchy must, for a long series of years, continue broken and weak; for it is by commerce only that the people of that country can become formidable; for while, on the one side, they want a naval power to maintain the sovereignty of the Caspian Sea, to which they pretend, and, on the other hand, to have no fortresses of great strength to secure their frontiers against the Usbeck Tartars on the north, and the Turks on the west, they will always be in danger from both those neighbours.

These things are so plain that they cannot be denied or doubted. The single inference I would draw from this is, that so far as human foresight reaches there seems to be a disposition in Providence to overturn the Mahometan powers every where; for if we compare the present state of things with the past, we cannot help seeing that they are much in the same situation that the Greeks were at the time their empire began to decline; and though it may be some centuries before their total destruction comes on, yet we must shut our eyes against evidence if we are not convinced that it is coming. We must indeed allow that there are some visionary people here in Europe who apprehended mighty things from the Shah Nadir, and believed that he would overwhelm the Turkish empire; but there was no kind of reason for this, except the known weakness of that empire; and if it were not for this, we might with more reason expect that the Turks, at this juncture, should make some impression upon Persia, which however I am persuaded will not happen. But if the feuds of Christian princes were once laid asleep, there is no improbability in the conjecture, that the Russians might make themselves masters, at least, of some of the provinces of this empire which lie nearest to the Caspian Sea; and, whenever it shall happen, it may prove a beginning to much greater revolutions, since there are multitudes of Christians in the adjacent countries, who are either of the Greek religion or very little removed from it; and if their spirits should once revive, the weakness of the Mahometans, both here and elsewhere, would be quickly seen. I know very well how little heed the present generation will give to remarks of this nature; but I flatter myself, that how weak or how impertinent soever they may be now esteemed, experience will justify them to posterity.

OF THE  
DISPOSITION AND TEMPER OF THE PERSIANS,

Their Persons, Habits, Manner of Living, their Artificers and Mechanics, the Respect paid to Merchants, the Method in which their Inland Trade is carried on, the past and present State of the English Commerce, and other Particulars; together with some curious Observations on the Nature of the Silk Trade, and a Computation of the annual Balance in favour of Persia.

*Collected as well from Private Memoirs, as from Accounts that have been published.*

1. *An Introductory Account of the Subject of this Section, the Difficulty of Drawing National Characters, the likeliest Way of coming at the Truth, the general Temper, Disposition and Genius of the modern Persians. — 2. Of their Persons, Dress, great Value of their Turbans, and of the Magnificence and Profusion into which all Ranks of People are apt to run in that Country, in every Thing that regards Appearance and Equipage. — 3. Of the Women's Habits, their Painting, their Head-dresses usually adorned with Feathers, frequently set out with Jewels, and more especially with Pearls, which were esteemed the best in the World, so long as the Persians were possessed of the Island of Baharen. — 4. The manner of living in Persia, the Method of eating and drinking, their Customs at their Meals, the commonness of Cooks-Shops and Ordinaries amongst them, and of the open and general Hospitality in Persia. — 5. A View of their Entertainments, the Ceremonies and Civilities that pass upon such Occasions, their laudable Temperance and great Sobriety, and of the Manner in which, by the Use of Opium, they supply their Want of strong Liquors. — 6. The Manner of Travelling in Persia, the Nature of Caravans, how they supply the Want of Wheel-Carriages, of their Foot-Posts, and of the wonderful Swiftmess of their Shatirs or Running-Footmen. — 7. Of their Artificers and Mechanics of all Sorts, the Neatness of some and the Inexpertness of other Workmen, and of the Nature of their Companies, and the Rules by which they are governed. — 8. Of the Silken, Woollen, and Mohair Manufactures that are carried on in this Empire, the Management of their Domestic Traffic, the great Use of Brokers; the Manner in which their Foreign Trade is carried on, and the Reasons that hinder Mahometans from becoming Merchants; with some political Remarks upon that Subject. — 9. The Nature of the English Trade in Persia, the Measures, Weights, Money, generally used in that Country, and the Alterations that have happened by the Removal of the Capital from Ispahan to Mesched. — 10. A succinct View of the several Routes by which Foreign Commodities are introduced into Persia, with a clear View of the Advantages arising from the new Trade to that Empire, through Russia. — 11. A short Representation of the Value of Silk, considered as the Staple Commodity of Persia, and of the Advantages that would result to this Nation by the joint Endeavours of the Russian, Levant, and East India Companies, to import Persian and China Silks on the cheapest Terms possible.*

1. **A**FTER taking a view of the country of Persia, and its product of all kinds, it is very natural for us to come next to the inhabitants, for whose sake the other description was held necessary, and made intirely with a view to render this more clear



and intelligible. It must indeed be owned, that there is something very difficult and hazardous in attempting to characterise a whole nation, and nothing is more common than instances even of great authors falling into mistakes on this head; yet as the thing is necessary, so it is also very feasible; nations certainly have their characters as well as private men, and these are frequently hit, though to be sure sometimes they are mistaken.

The means of hitting them, is to observe carefully the points in which all travellers agree, for these, without doubt, are founded in truth and nature; when a sufficient number of these are fixed, they will serve to guide you in the rest, for the humours of men, though of several sorts, and vastly different from each other, yet have a connection among themselves, that is to say, one humour affords with and joins easily with another, while there are some humours that never come together, or are found in the same breasts. That there really is such a thing as national characters appears from hence, that the inhabitants of the same country, through a great diversity of ages, and described by authors of various dispositions, keep pretty nearly the same character; of this the description of the people of Paris, by the Emperor Julian, is a remarkable instance, and others might be mentioned, if that before us were not as good a one as any of the rest; for whoever considers attentively what is said of the temper, genius and customs of the Persians, independent of their religion and government, by the Greek and Latin writers, and compares these with the writings of modern travellers, will be amazed to see what a conformity there is between them, and be from thence convinced that national characters are nothing less than imaginary. But to come to the point, and to that description which will justify this observation, at the same time that it carries on the thread of our discourse, and performs the proper business of this section.

The Persians are men of bright parts, and abundance of vivacity, fond of glory, and known to excel their neighbours of India in point of courage, insomuch that the Mogul prefers them to the greatest posts both in his court and army; and as they were observed anciently to be of all men the most civil and obliging, they retain the same disposition to this day, especially towards foreigners, who admire their hospitality and benevolence; they are far from being guilty of that brutish behaviour towards Christians as the Turks are; what they seem to be most justly and universally charged with, is vanity and profusion in their cloaths, their equipages and number of servants; as to voluptuousness in eating and drinking, this does not appear to be their vice, at least we are much more guilty of it in Europe; for the greatest part of their food is rice, fruits, and garden stuff; they have not any great variety of flesh, neither have they many ways of dressing it; pils seems to be the standing dish, even among those of the best quality. And as for strong liquors, though they drink them now and then by stealth, drunkenness is very far from being common; liquor is never forced, and every man may retire from an entertainment without ceremony when he sees fit, without a breach of good manners.

No people have a greater genius for poetry, insomuch that there is not a festival or entertainment made but a poet is introduced and desired to oblige the company with his compositions; and these gentlemen are often found with a crowd about them in coffee-houses, and other places of public resort. The Persians are by some looked upon to be very covetous; but by this they must mean covetous in getting, for as to hoarding up money they are generally absolved. They only get that they may spend, and when they have furnished themselves with an equipage, house and gardens suitable to their mind, they rather lay out their money in building caravanferais, mosques, and on other public occasions, than let it lie by them, insomuch that some travellers observe that there



Engraved by H. Cooper.

*Persian Costume.*



are no people in the world that take less thought for to-morrow. A man who happens to have eight or ten thousand pounds fall to him, shall in a few weeks lay it out in purchasing wives and slaves, clothing and furniture, without considering where he shall meet a supply, and in two or three months after you will see him disposing of them again for subsistence. These people, it is observed, have a great command of their passions; they are not easily moved, and when they are, it proceeds very seldom to blows. The quarrel generally ends in ill language, and perhaps some hearty curses; and to sum up all, they call one another Jews or Christians. They are of a very insinuating address, and a most obliging behaviour; few European nations are more polite.

2. The Persians are generally of a good stature, well shaped, clean limbed, and of agreeable features, and, in Georgia and the northern provinces, of an admirable complexion; towards the south they are a little upon the olive. However, the great men having had their wives and concubines chiefly from Georgia and Circassia, for ■ hundred years past, their complexions are very much mended even in the southern provinces. Their eyes and their hair are generally black, and they wear only one lock on the crown of their heads, like other Mahometans, by which they expect Mahomet will lift them up to Paradise.

As to their beards, the Shah and the great officers of state, and soldiery, wear only long whiskers on the upper lip, which, joined to a tuft of hair on the upper part of their cheeks, grow to a very enormous size, insomuch that some of them, it is said, are near half a foot long. Their mollahs and religious people wear their beards long, only clipping them into form, and the common people clip their beards pretty short, but none of the Persians suffer any hair to grow upon their bodies. They wear large turbans on their heads, some white, and others striped with red or other colours, and the great men have flowers of gold and silver woven or marked on the cloth. They have also a scull-cap under their turban, and all together does not weigh less than seven or eight pounds, sometimes a great deal more. Next to their skins they wear a shirt of coloured silk or calico, generally blue, which they seldom or never wash; this shirt has an open bosom, but neither neck nor wristbands, and is made close to the arm; they have also a pair of breeches, or rather drawers, close before, they reach half down their legs; their stockings are made of woollen cloth, but not at all shaped to the leg; over the shirt they wear a waistcoat, and upon these a coat with close sleeves, and buttons and loops before, tied with a sash; this is wide at bottom, and hangs a little below their knees; besides this, they put on another coat frequently, without sleeves, the uppermost coat being the shortest, and in the winter time over all they have another loose coat lined with furs: instead of shoes they have piqued slippers, turned up at the toes, and made of Turkey leather, which are neither tied nor buckled, and when they ride they have boots of yellow leather; their bridle,, saddles and housings are immoderately fine, being almost covered with gold; the housing is so large that it almost hides the hinder part of the horse, and whether on foot or on horseback they wear a broad sword, and a crice or poniard. Their ladies have also a dagger at their sides, especially those of high rank.

3. The garb of the women is not very different from that of the men, except it be that the women neither wear turbans on their heads, nor sashes about their waists, and their coats or vests reach almost down to their heels. If ever they go into the streets, which women of quality seldom do, they have ■ white veil which covers them from head to foot. The girls wear a stiffened cap upon their heads, turned up like a



hunting-cap, with a heron's feather in it, their hair being made up in tresses, and falling down their backs to a very great length, and the quality have pearls and jewels interwoven and mixed with their hair. The married women comb their hair back, and having bound it about with a broad ribbon, or rich tiara, set with jewels, which looks like a coronet, let the rest of their hair fall gracefully down their shoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming dress. As for gloves, neither men nor women ever wear them, but their arms and fingers are usually full of rings and bracelets enriched with jewels.

As black hair is the most common, so it is in most esteem, and the thickest and broadest eye-brows are thought the finest; the women, if their eye-brows be not black, will colour them, and commonly paint their faces; they rub their hands and feet with an orange-coloured pomatum. Some will have feathers stand upright in their tiara, and others have a string of pearls or precious stones fastened to it, which hangs down between their eye-brows; they wear also jewels in their ears, and rows of pearls fall down their temples as low as the neck, and in some provinces bordering on India, they have jewels in their nostrils, which to the Europeans do not seem very becoming, for hanging down to the mouth it makes them look as if they had hare-lips, but the ladies of Ispahan never wear these nose-jewels. Their necklaces are either gold or pearl; they fall upon the bosom, and there always hangs a little golden box to them, filled with most reviving perfumes.

As their clothes are of the richest flowered and brocaded silks, it appears that their dress is no inconsiderable article in Persia, where people of mean fortunes endeavour to vie with the quality, and will have fine clothes though they want food. An ordinary turban cannot be purchased under ten pounds, and they frequently give twice as much; and they must have variety of them, lest they should be known by their clothes. Their shawls also are brocaded, and cost from twenty to a hundred crowns, and over this they have frequently another of camel's hair, of which the workmanship is so curious that it seldom costs less. Those who wear shawls, which they will not be without if they can purchase them, seldom pay less than a hundred pounds for a close bodied coat; all this, with the rich furniture and equipage they have when they ride out, amounts to a vast sum; and this, as it well may, keeps them exceeding poor. The common mode of living is thus:

4. Early in the morning they usually drink a dish of coffee. About eleven they go to dinner, when they eat melons, sweetmeats, fruit, cheese, curds or milk, but their principal meal is in the evening, when you may depend on a dish of pillo, which is boiled rice well buttered, and seasoned with a fowl, a piece of mutton or kid served up with it: they have an excellent way of boiling their rice all over the East, the water is perfectly dried away, by that time the rice is enough, after which they season it with spices, and mix saffron or turmeric with it, giving it a yellow, or what other colour they think fit; but there is very little variety either in their food or way of dressing it; if they have a large joint, it is baked instead of being roasted, but their usual way is to cut their flesh into little slices, and spitting or skewering them together, roast them over a charcoal fire, and whether they boil or roast, it is always done to rags, or it would be impossible to pull the meat to pieces with their hands, as they do without knives or forks. Pork is never eaten here any more than veal, nor do they eat hares or other animals prohibited to the Jews, beef but seldom; they do not deal much in venison, fish or wild fowl, they dress only plain dishes, being strangers to hashes, ragouts and other com-



they have baked in thin cakes the moment they use it, but eat much more rice. They use no beaten pepper, only whole, and not abundance of salt in their seasoning, nor is there any brought to table: meat is never salted before it is dressed. They usually kill their meat and fowls the same day they use them, and set by nothing to be eaten cold.

They sit down cross-legged at their meals, and a cloth is spread upon the carpet. Then one of the persons who has the provision before him, distributes rice and flesh to the company. They use no spoons, except for soup and liquids, but take up their rice by handfuls. They seldom sit above half an hour at table. They wash both before and after their meals, making use of their handkerchiefs instead of a towel. The common people of Ispahan seldom dress their victuals at home, but when they have shut up their shops of an evening, go straight to the cooks, of which there are great numbers in that city, and buy *pilo* for their families. The cooks have kettles or coppers fixed in brick-work in their shops, and stoves, over which they dress most of their meat, making scarce any use of chimnies. It is remarkable of the Persians, that they are so far from shutting their doors at their meals, that they invite every one to eat with them who happens to come to their houses.

5. When a person makes an entertainment, it is usually a supper, notwithstanding which the guests generally come at nine or ten in the morning, and spend the whole time at the place to which they are invited. They discourse, they smoke, eat sweet-meats, and pass away the time with a thousand amusements; sometimes they hear poems repeated in honour of their prince, sometimes the singing women are introduced, who sing, and dance, and play and show antic tricks to divert the company; and if any one of the guests are disposed to withdraw with any of these dancing-girls, they are shewn into a private room, and when they return nobody takes any notice of it. When supper is served up, the son, or some relation of the master of the house, takes the honours of the feast upon him, and helps the guests to their meat.

They generally provide variety of sherbets on these occasions, their usual drink being nothing but fair water, and even this, it seems, they drink with ice; it is the employment therefore of abundance of people about Ispahan, in the winter-season, to heap up vast quantities of ice together, and keep it in repositories under ground all the summer, when they sell it to great advantage. Wine is made in several provinces of Persia; but the Armenians and other Christians drink the greatest share of it. The officers will indeed sometimes indulge themselves in this liquor, and other people drink it as they pretend for their health, but that is not common; much the greatest part of it is either transported to the neighbouring countries, or drank by the Christians who are dispersed through the Persian dominions.

But those who abstain from wine out of conscience, because it is prohibited by law, raise their spirits with opium, bang, poppy-seed, and other intoxicating ingredients. The Persians, like other eastern nations, take pills of opium, which some of them gradually increase to such a dose as would destroy half a dozen Europeans. Within an hour after they have taken the pill it begins to operate, and a thousand pleasant scenes present themselves to their imagination; they laugh and sing, and say abundance of humorous things like men intoxicated with wine; but after the effect of it is gone off, they find their spirits exhausted, and grow pensive and melancholy till they repeat the dose again; and some make it so necessary to them that they cannot live without it. There is also a decoction of the seed of poppies, sold in most cities of Persia, and in these houses

they keep to the letter of the law, and abstain from wine, it is no matter how much they disorder themselves, they think they shall never be accountable for that.

6. There are no wheel-carriages in this country, but all people travel upon camels, horses, mules or asses. The women, who are to be concealed as much as possible, are put into a square wooden machine, of which they hang one on each side of a camel; they are about three feet deep, and just large enough for one to sit down in, and over head are three or four hoops like those which support the tilt of a waggon, with a cloth thrown over them. Their asses are much larger and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten miles at a pretty good rate, but they are very obstinate, and frequently throw their riders. People usually travel in this country with the caravan, consisting of four or five hundred camels, besides other beasts, and there is no place where they travel with greater security and less expence, there being caravanserais at proper distances, where they have their lodging gratis, and purchase provision at the best hand; and though the roads are frequently steep and mountainous, yet such care is taken in laying bridges and causeways, and to level and enlarge the ways, that a traveller seldom meets with any difficulties but what are easily surmounted.

Here are no general posts, but if any person has letters to send, he dispatches a shatir or footman with them on purpose, who will travel a thousand miles in eighteen or twenty days, and not ask more than twenty pence or two shillings a day for his trouble: they carry with them a bottle of water, and a little bag of provision, which serves them thirty or forty hours: they generally leave the high road, and cross over the country the nearest way. There are a great many families which make this their only employment, and breed their children up to it, obliging them to run from their infancy.

The Shah and all the great men have several of these shatirs or footmen in their retinue, but before a man can be admitted one of the imperial footmen, he must give a very extraordinary proof that he does not want heels or breath; for he must run from the great gate of the palace, called Aly Capi, to a place a league and a half from the city, twelve times in one day, and every time bring an arrow along with him, which is delivered him by those who stand at the end of the race, to shew that he has run the whole course; and this he performs, between sun-rise and sun-set, in thirteen or fourteen hours at most, being no less than a hundred and eight miles. It is always some favourite servant of the Shah's who is admitted to this honour. On the day of trial the elephants and horsemen are drawn up in the royal square, with the music, drums and trumpets sounding, and as if it was a festival. All the great men make presents to the shatir, and several of them ride the course with him to ingratiate themselves with the Shah; and the mob attend him every time he returns with their shouts and acclamations. The chams and viceroys who admit a shatir into their service, make him run the same number of miles, and they are caressed and presented by all their dependents in the same manner the royal shatirs are, though not so largely; for it is a very common thing to see the Shah's shatir presented with above a thousand pounds on such an occasion. This is a very strong mark of the spirit of this nation, and of that disposition they have to display their generosity, sometimes at the expence of justice, but without regard to prudence always.

7. With respect to their artificers, manufacturers and common tradesmen, the regulations that are made in this country are extremely well-contrived, for every company has a head or master, who with a small number of his brethren, form a kind of council, and settle such rules and orders, for the general benefit of such as are engaged in the particular branch of trade he superintends, as to him and them seem requisite. Whoever



intends to set up a trade, goes to the master and registers his name and abode, and no enquiry is made who was his master, or whether he understands the business or not; nor is there any restraint laid upon them that they shall not encroach upon any other profession; for instance, the braziers are at liberty to make silver vessels, as they frequently do, without being in danger of any disturbance from the silversmiths. Neither do they take apprentices for a number of years, but hire their servants, and allow them wages from the first day they entertain them. Every trade almost is bound to work for the Shah whenever he requires it, and those who are not, pay an annual tax to the government for an exemption.

Their armourers make very good broad sword blades, and damask them as well as any European. The barrels of their fire-arms are not amiss, they make them very strong, and as thick at the muzzle as at the breech. Their stocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the butt, and not fit for a man's shoulder; and for locks to their guns, or any other locks that have springs, they do not pretend to make them any more than watches or clocks, which they either purchase abroad, or employ European workmen to make for them. Knives, razors, scissars and some other cutlery wares they make very well, and little steel mirrors, which they use instead of looking-glasses; they are almost all convex, and the air is so perfectly dry, that they seldom rust or grow dull. The art of making looking-glasses they do not understand, but have them from Europe. However, they have a manufacture of glass, which serves for windows and bottles. The glass of Shiraz is the best in the country.

As the use of the bow is what the Persians value themselves much upon, there are no where better bows made; the chief materials are wood and horn, with sinews bound about them; they are painted and varnished, and made as fine as possible. The bow-string is of twisted silk, of the bigness of a goose-quill; their quivers of leather, embroidered or worked with silk. This is a trade they are as well versed in as any thing, especially the gold or silver embroidery, either on cloth, silk or leather. They cover their saddles and housings almost with embroidery, and their stitching of the leather is much beyond any thing we do. Their saddles are made after the Morocco model, and the stirrups mighty short; they have a kind of breast-plate to them, and where we use brasses about our furniture, their men of quality have gold. The leather which we call Turkey leather, from its coming to us through that country, is all made in Persia. The shagreen also comes from thence, which is made of the skin of an ass's rump. The tanners dress their coarse skins with lime, and use no bark, but salt and galls instead of it.

The making earthen ware is another manufacture the Persians excel in; it is much beyond the Dutch, and some say almost equal to china ware. The places where it is chiefly made, are, Shiraz, Metfeh, Yezd, and at Kerman: and mending of glass and earthen ware, is a particular trade in Persia; they will drill holes through them, and fasten the pieces together, so that a broken bowl or plate will hold liquids, as well as it did at first. Their gold wire drawers, and thread-twisters are artists also in their way; they will draw a piece weighing a drachm, to the length of three hundred Persian ell. Their lapidaries understand the grinding of soft stones, and cutting them pretty well. Their dying is preferred to any thing of that kind in Europe, which is not ascribed so much to the artist, as to the air, which being dry and clear, gives a liveliness to the colours, and fixes them.

The Persian tailors work very neatly; and as the mens' clothes are made of the richest flowered and brocaded silks, they are fitted exactly to their bodies without the

fine materials they work on require it should. They work flowers also upon their carpets, cushions and window-curtains, so very nicely, that they look as if they were painted.

With tailors, we must not forget to mention their barbers, who are no less excellent in their way; for they will shave the head almost at half a dozen strokes, and have so light a hand, that you can scarce feel them; they use only cold water, and hold no basin under your chin as with us, but have their water in a cup, about the bigness of a little china dish: after they have shaved a man, they cut the nails of his feet and hands, with a little iron instrument like a bodkin, sharp at the end; then they stretch his arms, rub and chafe his flesh, which is an amusement, that the Europeans as well as the natives are pleased with, in these hot countries. But notwithstanding this, these artists are nothing comparable in their way to those of India, and these again fall as short of the Chinese barbers.

8. We are now to proceed to the more material parts of the Persian commerce, from whence their national riches flow, and by which they draw to themselves the wealth of other countries; for as we before observed, gold and silver are no longer the produce of Persia, but are brought thither in payment for their commodities. Silks are the principal manufactures of the country, such as taffaties, tabbies, satins and silk mixed with cotton or camel and goats-hair, brocades and gold tissue, of the single brocade there a hundred sorts, the double are called duroy or two faces, because both sides are equally good; they are the richest that are to be met with any where; and the gold velvet which is wrought in Persia is admirable; all their rich stuffs are very durable; the gold or silver does not wear off or tarnish while the work lasts, but keeps its colour and brightness. The finest looms for these stuffs are at Isfahan, Cashan and Yezd. Those for carpets are chiefly made in the province of Kirman, what are commonly called Turkey carpets are indeed Persian but obtained that name from being brought to us by way of Turkey.

The camel hair stuffs are made in Carmania, it is mighty soft and smooth, and almost as fine as beaver wool, but the stuffs they make with it are not very strong. Camlets and silk, and worsted druggets are made in the same province. Goats-hair stuffs are made in Hyrcania, and near the gulf of Bassora. There is some callico-cloth made in Persia, and they know how to paint and stain it, but it is not comparable to the Indian callicoes. A merchant is a very honourable profession in Persia, and the more so, because there is no such thing as hereditary nobility, which descends from father to son; as to those in great posts, their honour and their profits terminate with the office; and their lives and fortunes are both in perpetual hazards, especially under a weak and cruel Prince. The trader seems more independent than any other subject, and notwithstanding the government be despotic, they are usually encouraged, because they bring in a considerable revenue to the crown; and another thing is, the greatest ministers do not think the business of a merchant beneath them, even the Shah himself, within our remembrance, has had his factors and agents in the neighbouring kingdoms, and exported silks, brocades, carpets, and other rich goods, and his agents at the Mogul's court, and elsewhere, have frequently had the character of ambassadors conferred upon them, when indeed their business was chiefly commerce.

All business of consequence is carried on in Persia by brokers, who are very cunning; after they have agreed and talked over the matter at the fellers-house, they agree about the price upon their fingers, putting their hands under a cloth; the finger's end it seems stand for one, the bent finger for five, and the straight for ten, the hand open for a hundred, and if shut a thousand; and they keep so even a countenance all the while



from the circumstances. But notwithstanding the Mahometans are the governing part of the country, they are not the greatest foreign traders. The Armenian Christians, and Banians of India, have much the largest share.

The Mahometan Persians trade from one province of their own country to another, and to India pretty much, but the Armenians manage the whole European trade; one reason whereof is, that the Mahometans do not care to go into Christian countries, because they cannot there observe the customs their religion prescribes, for their law it seems forbid them to eat flesh killed or dressed by a man of a different religion, or drink out of the same cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of persons in some circumstances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another thing, which is a disadvantage to their trade is, that the taking up money at interest is unlawful, though they are at liberty to make what advantage they can in buying and selling. It appears from hence, that from the very nature of their religion, all Mahometan powers stand excluded from commerce, and this is the true secret of the declension of their governments; for as trade produces shipping, as shipping in process of time begets naval power, and as it is a maxim, justified by experience, as well as founded in reason, that naval power will in the end get the better of all other power; it follows that the Mahometans wanting this, can only prey upon each other by land, from whence revolutions in power, but no accession of power can ever arise. Whereas if Christians should turn their arms upon the Mahometans, so as to make conquests, and come into possession of their countries, the case would be altered, their commerce would follow them, and the new erected principalities would in a short space of time acquire a naval power, and so be in a condition to extend their conquests at the expence of their Mahometan neighbours.

9. We are indebted to Mr. Lockyer for the best, indeed for the only tolerable account we have of the method trade is carried on in Persia, and therefore from him we must borrow what is necessary for the reader's information upon that subject. Their great weights are maunds only, and these differ according to the nature of the commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, copper, tutanag, all sorts of drugs, &c. are sold by the maund fabrees; which in the factory and the custom-house is nearest six pounds and three quarters, avoirdupois; but in the bazar it is not above six pounds and a quarter, which one ought to have regard to in buying out of the shops.

Eatables and all sorts of fruit, as rice, raisins, prunels, almonds, onions, &c. are sold by the maund copara of seven pounds and three quarters in the factory, and from seven pounds and a quarter to seven pounds and a half in the bazar. Fine goods, as, gold, silver, musk, acheen, camphire, bezoar, coral, amber, cloves and cinnamon, oils, dried china, silk, &c. are sold by the miscal, six of which are commonly counted an avoirdupois ounce; its just weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24d. ps. troy. The maund shaw is two maund tabrees, used at Isfahan. All bargains in Gambron are made for shahees, and the company keep their accounts in them, reckoning them worth four-pence each, though that coin is rarely met with, but in its stead coz and mamoodas are current every where. Horses, camels, houses, &c. are generally sold by the toman, which is two hundred shahees, or fifty abasses, and they usually reckon their estates that way; such a one, they say, is worth so many tomans, as we say, pounds in England. The laree is used about Isfahan, nor are abasses to be got without allowing seven or eight per cent. for the difference in exchange, yet returns to Fort St. George, and other parts of India, are commonly made with them. Next to these, zechins are the most profitable; there are several sorts of them, but the Venetian is better than the rest by one and a half or two per cent. at Surat, and several other ports on the Malabar coasts, whither

whither vast quantities are sent every year. When a parcel of Venetian ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the name of zechins of Surat; but when they are separated, one sort is called Venetians, and all the others gubbers indifferently.

The English East India Company, as has been observed, do not only receive the sum of three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence of the government of Persia, in lieu of the service the Company did them in taking the island of Ormus from the Portuguese, but they have an exemption also from customs, and whatever ships trade under their protection have the like exemption, only paying the following port charges, viz. two per cent. on the sale of goods to the Company, one per cent. consulage to the agent, one per cent. to the broker. Boat or franky hire for landing goods is thirty mamoodas per 2000 maund tabrees. Hamalgae, or cooly hire at weighing, one coz of every twenty maund tabrees. The Company do not meddle at all with the trade between Persia and India; this they leave altogether to their factors and servants, and to such country ships and private traders as put themselves under their protection, and are content to pay the port duties above-mentioned.

It is to be observed, that the Turkey company having always had an opportunity of sending great quantities into Persia from Aleppo, abated much of the commerce which the agents of the East-India company would otherwise have carried on in that empire. Of late the Russia company have also interfered in this trade, by transporting great quantities of English goods by the Caspian Sea; and it is generally believed, that so long as we maintain an amicable correspondence with the court of Petersburg, this trade will not only go on, but increase, which must be attended with great advantages to the nation. As this appears to be a matter of far greater consequence to us than any thing that has occurred in this section, it is but reasonable that the point should be fully explained, as well for the advantage of the present age, as for the benefit of posterity.

10. In order to set this affair in as clear a light as it is possible, we shall observe, that all foreign commodities are brought into Persia by four great routes; and that by each of these, more or less of British commodities have been, or may be introduced into this country, where there always has been, and, if we are true to our interest, there always must be, a very high demand for them. Of these routes the first is that of Bassora, or Bassora, a great city at the bottom of the Persian Gulf, subject to its own Prince, and a kind of emporium or magazine of Turkish, Persian, and Indian commodities. The goods that are brought hither for the Persian market, come by land by the caravan from Aleppo, in about thirty days, and are transported from thence either to Bandar Abassi, or Isfahan. It is by this caravan that the Turkey company transport English cloths into Persia in exchange for silk, which they purchase at Aleppo, and consequently this trade is either greater or less, according to the good correspondence between the two empires of Turkey and Persia. By this means also we were led into errors about carpets, leather, and other commodities which pass for Turkish, because imported by the Turkey company from Turkey, though really of Persian growth and manufacture.

The next great route is that of Gambron, or Bandar Abassi, with respect to which we have already given a large account from Mr. Lockyer. Goods are brought hither by sea, but not directly, as many apprehend, from England; on the contrary, they come from some Indian port, and consequently are charged with a very high freight, and with other incident charges, which render them very dear; notwithstanding which, in times of peace, and when things are well settled in Persia, the Shah keeping his court at Isfahan, there was large vent for them; and our agent there lived with all the pomp



and splendour of a prince. The reader will easily discern from hence, how great a change must have been wrought in the traffic carried on by this canal, by the disturbances which lasted so many years in Persia, and by the change of the capital of that empire, which is now removed to a prodigious distance from Bender Abassi; and if he desires any proof of this fact, their calling the English agents from Ispahan and Bandar Abassi may pass for incontestible evidence.

The third route is that through India to Bost, which, as we have shewn in the description of the Persian empire, is the eastern magazine, as Bandar Abassi is the southern, and Bassaro is the western for all that enter into Persia. By this means it is very far from being impossible that the East India Company should introduce English goods into this empire; but whether they are actually carried thither by this road, is more than I am able to say; and if they are, I presume it is done by Indian, Armenian, or Jewish merchants.

The fourth or last route is by the Caspian Sea, and the English commodities that are sent this way, must of necessity pass through Russia. For the carrying on this trade, magazines must be erected at Astracan, and from thence the goods are transported into the provinces of Gilan or Astrabat; from which last province the caravans go in a week to Mesched, which is the present capital of Persia.

It may be said that this is going a great way about, and taking a vast compass before our goods arrive at market. To this there are two answers; the first is, that let the inconveniencies that attend this commerce be what they will, they must be borne, for we have before shewn that little or nothing can now be expected from transporting of goods to Bandar Abassi, much less from Aleppo, which lies still at a much greater distance from Mesched; so that we are under the necessity of taking this compass, if we will not entirely lose the Persian commerce, and therefore it is to no purpose to complain, even supposing the objection were well grounded. The second is, that there is not either truth or force in the objection; for goods may be transported from Petersburg from thence, through Russia to Astracan, cross the Caspian to Gilan, and so to Mesched, and the returns made the same way in half the time that they could be made by the way of Gambron.

We may add to this, that we now go to the market and sell our goods, or rather barter them, for Persian silk upon the spot, whereas formerly we went a great way about; and notwithstanding this, the Persian factors went also a great way to get at us, since before we could ship the Persian silk, it must either be carried by land to Aleppo, which was three months' journey, or to Bandar Abassi, which was above two. Besides, it is highly probable, that when our commerce at Mesched is as well fixed as it was at Ispahan, we shall be able to transport English cloths into the remotest parts of Tartary, and thereby reap most of those advantages that were heretofore wished for and expected from the discovery of a north-west passage. It was by this very canal, and in spite of all the inconveniencies with which it has been supposed to be attended, that the Dutch disposed of prodigious quantities of their cloths in Persia, which for that purpose were bought up by the Armenian merchants; and it was by this way also that the French were in hopes of establishing a trade to Persia, as appears by a very curious memoir presented to the French ministry upon that head, the subject of which is inserted in the Dictionary of Commerce, one of the best and most useful works that was ever published: but there is still somewhat behind with which the reader ought to be acquainted, in order to frame a true notion of the value and importance of this trade, about which so many disputes have been of late years raised in this kingdom.

11. We have already enumerated the commodities of Persia, and shall not therefore pretend to meddle with them again; for, in order to give the reader a view of the trade of this empire, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to insist barely upon the silk, of which there are four sorts; the first is, that which in Persia they call shirvan, but which we in Europe call hardals; the second, is what they call karvary, but we usually style it legee or rather legy, from the little town of Legiam in Gilan, from whence the greatest part of it is brought; the third is in their language called ked-coda-pensend, which is as much as to say, tradesmen's silk; the last is what they and we call sherbaffle, or, as the common people style it, Turkey silk, from the mistake which has been so often mentioned.

Of all these kind of silks, the provinces of Georgia, Gilan, Mezanderan, Shirwan, Chorasan and Kirman, produce annually, about twenty-two thousand bales, each of about two hundred and fourscore pounds weight. Of these it is computed, that not above two thousand bales are wrought up in all the manufactures of Persia, from the coarsest carpets, to the richest brocades. At this rate, there are between five and six millions of pounds of silk yearly carried out of Persia, and as it is worth about ten shillings a pound on the spot, the reader will easily apprehend, that raw silk is a kind of gold mine to the Persians, since it furnishes them with between two and three millions annually, above one-half of which is received in ready money.

In the next place it is to be shewn, how the bringing in vast quantities of silk turns to the advantage of this nation. In respect to our silk manufactures, what we bring of this sort serves only for the shoothe, for the warp of all our raw silks is, as we have elsewhere told the reader, organzine or Italian silk, which is prodigiously dear. If therefore we can abate the price of this, we may the better afford to pay for that; or if we can obtain the quantities we want, in exchange for our manufactures, this will prove a very great saving; and whatever can be saved in this way, will enable us to work so much the cheaper.

It has been suggested, that it might be attended with inconveniencies for our Turkey and Russia Companies to interfere with each other in this trade, which I confess, surpasses my comprehension; and I am so far from believing that any bad consequences will result from thence, that I think it may be demonstrated, this is the only, or at least the most practicable and best, method of making companies useful, by engaging them to vie with each other in exporting British commodities and manufactures, and provided this can be done, it is of no real consequence to the nation who does it. But there is another thing that, joined to this, would be of still greater consequence, and that is, the East-India Companies, exerting themselves in procuring of silk from China, which would supply the place of the Piedmontese or organzine silk; and thus by the united efforts of these three companies, it is very possible that twenty or thirty per cent. might be saved in the prime cost of silk to this nation; and of what prodigious benefit such a saving would prove in our manufactures, and how much it would contribute to enable us to work cheaper than our neighbours, I leave every sensible and studious reader to judge.

I know very well, that in order to bring such a project as this to bear, there must be some application made to parliament for an alteration in the duties; and I am persuaded that no great difficulty would be found in obtaining this, if the reasonableness of the thing was fairly shewn, and as it might be, fully made out. Our great misfortune is, that commerce is not sufficiently explained or understood, the reason of which I take to be, that none concern themselves about the theory, but those who are engaged



in the practice; and as these must be always interested, it will very rarely happen that they can be impartial judges. It is from this motive that I have so often turned my pen to this subject, with a view, if possible, to excite a more general attention to what is certainly in itself the most considerable and important object of all political considerations.

AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF PERSIA,

THE NATURE OF THE SHAH'S POWER, THE DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL, ECCLESIASTICAL AND MILITARY OFFICES, THE INTERIOR POLICY OF THE EMPIRE, THE REGULAR FORCES KEPT UP THERE, BOTH HORSE AND FOOT, AND THE NATURE AND AMOUNT OF THE PUBLIC REVENUES.

THE WHOLE DIGESTED INTO ORDER FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

- 
1. *An Introductory Account of the Reason and Subject of this Section, in which the Constitution of arbitrary Monarchies is explained, and applied to the present Purpose. — 2. Of the Power of the Persian Monarch, how far absolute and terrible; and how, notwithstanding, mild and equal enough, with respect to the Bulk of the People. — 3. Of the Constitution of the Persian Court, the principal Officers therein, their Ranks and Subordination, and the Duties of their respective Offices. — 4. Of the Ecclesiastical Constitution in Persia, and the Difference between the Head of the Mahometan Church there, and in Turkey. — 5. Of the Government of the Provinces, the several Checks contrived for the Safety of the Prince, and the Preservation of his Subjects. — 6. Of the Regular Troops or old Standing Army of the Persian Empire, how composed, under what Discipline, and the Methods by which it was subsisted. — 7. Of the new Standing Army introduced by the Shabs, intirely dependent upon them, how modeled and provided for, and corrupted and rendered useless. — 8. Of the Art Military among the Persians, their Manner of making War, acting offensively, defensively, and particularly their Method for securing themselves against Invasions. — 9. Some further Observations on the military Affairs of this Empire, on the Advantages enjoyed by, and the Disadvantages under which the Persians labour, from the Regulations established amongst them in this respect. — 10. Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues arise, how levied, and their Amount. — 11. Observations and Remarks on several Particulars delivered in the Course of this Section.*

1. **A**S at this juncture the Persian empire, by the murder of the Shah Nadir, is in such confusion, that it may be in some measure considered as dissolved and no longer a government at all; so it might seem excusable, if we had passed by this section altogether; yet considering that even in absolute monarchies, revolutions are but convulsive motions, and that as soon as they cease the body politic recovers its natural constitution, we could not but think it very requisite, for the reader's information, that a view should be given of the form of the Persian government, and this for three reasons: first, because we are very apt to confound all absolute monarchies one with another, and to suppose that there neither is, nor well can be, any difference between them; whereas, in truth, the form of such governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder forms, as the reader will see by this instance.



was very justly held to be the best; and therefore it deserves, of all others, to be represented to the view of the reader, who from hence will learn by what modification the arbitrary power of a sovereign may be rendered in some measure beneficial to his subjects. Thirdly, because, in all human probability, the British nation may hereafter have a closer communication with and enter into a more extended trade amongst the inhabitants of Persia than in times past; so that it is highly requisite we should enter, at least, briefly, into a subject that may to us or our posterity become of extraordinary importance.

It is by no means fit that so large and so regular a collection as this should be governed by temporary views, or that we should take the liberty, because this country is at present unsettled, to slip over its government, which we have a moral certainty will be re-established, perhaps before this very collection is completed. Besides all this, there are a great variety of articles which naturally fall within the compass of this section, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect notion of the state of this empire and its inhabitants, than can be obtained by the perusal of any single book of travels, in which the state of the country is represented, as it stood at the time the author visited it: but notwithstanding that, the force of these considerations have determined us to insert this section; we shall not forget the obligation we are under to keep things within their due bounds, and shall therefore labour to deliver, as succinctly as it is possible, without prejudice to their perspicuity, the several articles that we think ourselves obliged to handle for the reader's instruction and entertainment, and in order to render our account of Persia consistent with the general plan of this work.

2. The Shah of Persia is an absolute monarch, and has the lives and estates of his subjects entirely at his disposal. There is no prince in the world more implicitly obeyed; let his orders be ever so unjust, or given at a time when he is so little master of his reason that he knows not what he says or does; nothing can save the greatest subject if he determines to deprive him of his life or his estate; neither zeal for his person, merit, or past services, will avail in the least. If he be in a humour to ruin them, it is done by a word of his mouth, or by a sign, and executed in an instant, without any form of law or evidence of facts. The common people, who are at a distance from the court, have much the better of the quality in this respect; there are very seldom instances of any oppression or severe judgments executed upon these, but they seem to enjoy as much security as in any country in the world; and perhaps the magistrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know nothing can screen them from the resentment of their Sovereign, if they are guilty of any sinister practices. The Persians, out of conscience, it is said, obey all the commands of their Prince without reserve, and believe that his orders ought to be obeyed against the very laws of nature, insomuch, that if the son be commanded to be his father's executioner, or the father the son's, it must be complied with: but if he command any thing in prejudice of their religion, they are not obliged to him, but ought to suffer any thing rather than violate the law of God.

Yet nothing makes the Persian government appear so tyrannical, as the custom of executing the governors of provinces, and great officers of state, without giving them an opportunity of making their defence, or being informed of the crime they are charged with. It is usual for the Shah two or three times in a year to send every governor the calaat, or royal vest, and these are sent by such persons as the court intends a favour to; for the cham or governor to whom they are sent, always makes a considerable present to the messenger.

When he comes within two or three miles of the place where the governor resides, the messenger sends him word to come and receive the calaat, but instead of a fine coat, the

the governor is sometimes presented with a halter, and is dispatched without any farther ceremony.

This makes the governors very circumspect in their conduct, and they are always under dismal apprehensions when they hear the calaat is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their best actions misrepresented to their Prince. The Persians say in defence of this practice, that the court seldom proceeds with that severity but in extraordinary cases, where the fact is notorious, and there is danger of rebellion, if they should cite the person accused to answer; that if it be otherwise, they always give him an opportunity of answering his charge.

As for those about the court, whom the Shah looks upon as slaves he has purchased, he does not think himself obliged to observe these formalities, but dooms them to be punished, or put to death, as he sees fit. The Shah of Persia has no council of state, as in the European governments, but he acts as he is advised by his prime minister and great officers; that which most perplexes the ministry, is the cabals that are carried on by the women in the haram; the resolutions that are taken here frequently thwart their best laid schemes, and the ministers do not only run the risk of having their counsels rejected, but they very often turn to their own destruction, if they are not suitable to the inclinations of the ladies most in favour. This is not an evil peculiar to Persia, but a kind of curse, throughout all eastern courts; and perhaps some in the west are not altogether free from it.

3. The royal family of Persia are, generally speaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the Ottoman blood, for though they are not put to death so frequently as the former, yet they usually have their eyes put out, and live in that miserable condition many years. They have the Tartar title of Mirza added to their names, which is equivalent to our title of Highness, and is never given but to those of the imperial line. The first minister in the empire is the atamadoulet, a word which signifies the support of the empire. In petitions, or when they speak to him, they style him the Grand Vizier, or Vizier Azem. No business of consequence is transacted in the state but by the direction of this minister, nor any grant or act of state of the Shah's held to be valid, till countersealed by him.

The reason whereof is said to be, that their Shahs being bred up in the women's apartment, and perfectly ignorant in affairs of state, it is necessary, for the safety of the people, and the preservation of the government, that their orders should be considered by some wise minister before they are put in execution. The grand viziers in Turkey, it is observed, seldom die a natural death; on the other hand, the prime minister of Persia, if it be thought fit to discharge him, is usually permitted to retire, and end his days in peace with his family. The second post in the government is that of the divan beghis or bey. This great magistrate is the last resort in all causes, civil and criminal, unless where the Shah in person sits in judgment. The divan bey can command any cause to be removed to his tribunal, from any court in the kingdom; and during the late reigns it has not been known that their Shahs have ever sat in a court of justice, or concerned themselves in examining the decrees of the divan beghi.

In the third rank come the generals, and first the generalissimo, when there is one. The next place is the general of the courtchis, which are a body of thirty thousand horse, of Turk or Tartar original. The third is the general of musketeers, a body which serve on horseback, but fight on foot like our dragoons. The fourth is the general of the coulars, or royal slaves, as they are called; and the last the master of the ordnance. After the generals, the vacanavish, or secretary of state, possesses the next post. This officer registers the public acts, and has the care of the records; he also appoints a deputy



deputy in every province of the empire, who transmits all affairs of consequence to him to be laid before the ministry. The last great officer is the mirab, or lord of the water. Every province has its particular mirab, who takes care to distribute the waters of the rivers and aqueducts in such proportion, that every part of the country may have an equal share.

These are all the principal officers of state. Those of the household are first the nazir, who is both lord treasurer and steward, and it is with this gentleman that all ambassadors and foreigners transact their affairs, but there is a comptroller, and several other officers, which are a check upon him, as he is on the prime minister, and those two have a very great influence in the court of Persia. But to prevent the Shah's treasury being misapplied, no sums are paid out of the treasury, but the order passes under the seals of the prime minister, the nazir, the divan bey, and two other officers of the revenue. The next is the ichicagasi bassa, who commands all that attend in the outward palace, and the guards.

When the Shah goes out, this lord marches before him with a great staff, covered with gold and precious stones; he does not sit, as several officers do of inferior quality, but stands always ready to obey His Imperial Majesty's orders, and see them executed. And after him is the great huntsman, who has not less than a thousand huntsmen and falconers under him. After this officer the principal physician and principal astrologer take place, which are posts of great honour and profit.

4. As to ecclesiastical officers in this empire, the grand pontiff is usually styled the fedre in Persia; they also give him the titles of prince, head of the true church, substitute of Mahomet, and lieutenant of the twelve imans, or caliphs, who succeeded their patriarch Haly. The churchmen and bigotted part of the Persians hold, that the dominion of the laity is in usurpation, and that the government belongs of right to the high priest; but that of the majority is, that the regal power exercised by their Princes is derived from God, and that the high priest and his brethren ought not to meddle with politics, yet the fedre and his substitutes are the ordinary judges in all civil as well as ecclesiastical causes; lawyer and divine are terms of the same signification in Persia, their ecclesiastical and civil laws being indeed the same. The temporal judges have no written laws to go by, but their decrees are founded upon ancient custom, or the equity of the case, and the judges in their temporal courts are usually men of the sword. The fedre is the supreme judge in the ecclesiastical courts, and takes place in all public assemblies next to the atamadoulet, or prime minister.

The second ecclesiastical judge is the ancient of the law, whom the Persians style cheik islam; his jurisdiction is little inferior to the fedre's, and the people seldom appeal from one of these courts to the other, but to the divan beghi, who is the supreme judge in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. The cadi is the third ecclesiastical judge in Persia; he takes cognizance of the same causes with the two former, but his authority is confined to some particular town or district. The musti is the fourth, who has not that authority here as in Turkey, for he cannot controul or reverse the proceedings of inferior courts, but is revered, however, as a person well skilled in the ecclesiastical laws, and his opinion frequently demanded by the other judicatures, who, notwithstanding, act as they think fit. These judges do not sit all in one court, but have each their respective tribunal, and the people apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.

5. There is in every province of this empire a chan and a vizier; the vizier has the government of all those towns and villages which are the King's demesne lands, or which belong to the crown in propriety, and the chan of the province in general. This word

chan, or caun, as we pronounce it, and cham, signify the same thing, namely, a puissant or mighty prince; and this is the title of all the Tartar Princes in Asia; and the Persian provinces being of the extent of kingdoms, and formerly distinct sovereignties, the Persian court have thought fit to give their governors the titles of Sovereign Princes; and the Shah of Persia is frequently styled now, as his predecessors of old, King of Kings. Indeed the chans, in their respective provinces, live almost in as much state as their sovereigns, having exactly the same kind of officers as are in the Shah's court, with the same titles, there being scarce any difference but in numbers and pensions. The chan commands the militia of the province, and assigns lands for their maintenance; he reviews them at certain times, and sees that they are fit for service, their arms and horses in good order, and that they all perform their exercises well; but every soldier is permitted to live in his own house in time of peace.

The chans, or governors of provinces, have their posts for life, and if they behave well, their children after them. There are two degrees of these chans, the greatest is called beglerbeg, or lord of lords; the other is styled coulembeg, or lord of slaves. The governors of the frontier provinces are for the most part beglerbegs, as the chan of Armenia, from whom the chans of Churs, Marega, and other districts, in time of war, receive their orders, and are obliged to march under his standard. Sometimes these inferior governments are made independent of the chan of the province. In every province there are three officers put in by the government, who are independent of the chan, namely, the Janitelim, his lieutenant, the vizier, or receiver-general of the Shah's revenues, who hath also the management of the lands belonging to the crown, and the government of all places where the crown lands lie; and the vacanavish, or secretary, whose business is to take an account of all transactions of moment in the province, and transmit them to court.

One principal design of placing these officers about the chan, is to observe his conduct, and oppose him if he should undertake any thing against the state. Besides these, the governors of cities and castles, who are called darogas, are put in directly by the Shah, and have their lieutenants and vacanavish also independent of them; and the same person who is governor of the city is never made governor of the fortress which belongs to it. The ministers of state, and generals of armies, have also their lieutenants and comptrollers to superintend their conduct, with secret orders how to act on certain emergencies; but it is observed, that unless in matters where the safety of the state is concerned, those officers have a very good understanding, and agree so well together, that the Shah is no less cheated and deceived than if the management was in one hand. Besides, the daroga or governor, the vizier, and vacanavish, there are also in every town the cadî, or civil judge, before whom all ordinary causes are heard; the head officer among the trading people, the provost or sheriff; and every particular trade has a warden or master. There is an officer also who has a watch, and is principally concerned in keeping the peace in every great town in the night time.

The governor of every town is the judge in the last resort in criminal and civil cases too, if he pleases to interpose, and may inflict any pains on offenders short of death. Capital punishments are very rare in Persia, and the sentence is, in most cases, passed by the Shah himself. The usual punishment is a fine, which always goes to the Shah, or rather to the governor of the province, who generally brings the crown indebted to him in his accounts. When a governor or vizier is sent into any province, he has his instructions in writing; wherein are contained the extent of his government, of the revenues, and the manner in which he is to treat the people; and instructions, in like manner, are given to every officer of state when he enters on his post. On the other hand,



hand, when a governor or other officer returns from his command, which he never does but by express order of the court, he waits without at the gate of the palace, and gives notice by some of his friends of his arrival, and that he begs to throw himself at His Imperial Majesty's feet; whereupon orders are usually given for his admittance; but sometimes, if the person has misbehaved in his post, instead of an answer in the ordinary style, orders are issued to take off his head.

6. The Persians are naturally ■ brave people, but the sloth and inactivity of their Princes had of late rendered them not so formidable as they used to be. In the last century, under Abbas the Great, they made considerable conquests on the side of Turkey, as well as India, though their troops were always much inferior in number to the armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul; but they sunk in our time so much below what they were in that reign, that every little Tartar and Arabian Prince insulted their frontiers, and robbed them of some part of their territories, before the late Shah Nadir assumed the government.

The forces of Persia are divided into the troops of the state and the Shah's. The troops of the state are entertained by the governors of the respective provinces, and paid out of certain lands appropriated for that purpose, and are divided into militia and regular troops. The regular troops are called courtchis; they were originally of Tartary, a stout hardy race of people who lived in tents. These are the soldiers which are properly called Cooselbashes, or Red-heads, so styled when they came to the assistance of Cheic Sefi, the founder of the late Imperial family; for which service he allowed them the honour of wearing red caps or turbans, of a particular form, like that he wore himself. These cooselbashes remained in their tents, as well in time of peace as war; and employed themselves in feeding, buying and selling of cattle, from whence they were called courtchis, or shepherds.

The service they did to Cheic Sefi, and their zeal for the religion of the Imans, procured them great respect, and they possessed the chief posts both in the court and army; and from these the Persian soldiery, and afterwards all the Persians in general, obtained the appellation of cooselbashes, a name formidable to the Indians, Turks, and Tartars in the last age; and it was by this generation that the Turkish language was introduced into the court of Persia, and the northern parts of that kingdom, where they speak it much more than the Persian. The cooselbashes held the first rank in the kingdom till the reign of Abbas the Great, who endeavoured to suppress them upon account of the unreasonable influence he observed they had in all affairs of state, deposing and setting up what princes they thought fit, like the Turkish janizaries. He was so jealous of his own son, on account of the respect he had observed they paid him, that he caused him to be put to death, and dispersed the cooselbashes in small detachments through all the provinces of the empire. These troops serve on horseback, carrying a bow and arrows, a sword, poniard, and lance, with a hatchet at the saddle-skirts; and for defensive arms have a shield and helmet; they are commanded always by their own officers, and their general is called Courchibathi, or commander of the courtchis.

Both the courtchis and militia have their pay out of the lands of the state of the respective provinces, and enjoy it as their inheritance, from father to son, if they do not refuse to bear arms: they are obliged to march to the place of rendezvous on twelve hours' notice, and every year pass in review before a commissary sent from court, or before the governor of the province.

7. The troops of the Shah are two bodies, which Abbas the Great instituted. One consists of twelve thousand men, and are called the musketeers, because instead of bows and arrows they carry muskets, and though they march on horseback, yet like our  
VOL. IX. F F dragoons

dragoons they fight on foot. Shah Abbas used to oppose them to the Turkish janizaries, of whom he had observed the enemy made great advantage in their engagements with him. Before this time neither foot-soldier or fire-arms were ever heard of in Persia, and their neighbours the Tartars have no foot among them to this day. The other body consisted of ten thousand horse; these were called coulars, and carried fire-arms also instead of bows. They were called coulars or slaves, to signify their devotion to their sovereign; or as some say, because they come from those countries from whence the Persians had their slaves, as Georgia, Circassia, &c. Part of them are sent as presents to the Shah when they are young; and the rest are descended from the people of those countries, who are settled in Persia. They almost all profess the Mahometan religion, though descended from Christian parents. Abbas the Great had a particular affection for this body, and used to call them his horse janizaries. They are tall and well-made fellows, in whose courage and fidelity the Shah has a particular confidence; for as they scarce know the country or relations from whence they sprang, and can have no other views, than to recommend themselves to their master by their services, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every order without hesitation; and from among these, the court usually prefers men to the highest posts; so that considering the number of Georgian women which are married into Persia, and the posts the men who derive themselves from thence possess, the Persian court may, one half of them, probably be of Georgian extraction.

It is observed, that in Persia, as well as India, the word slave is an honourable title, and preferable to that of subject: nay, a certain French author tells us, that the word Koulam Shah, or King's slave, is equal to that of Marquis in France; because all that have that denomination are sure to be preferred to some post if they behave well. Besides these there are two other small bodies, the one called Sophis or Sephis, instituted for a guard to the King's person by Cheik Sefi; these are not above two hundred men, and wear the Sophi's cap on their heads, and for their arms have a sabre, a poniard, and an axe, which they carry on their shoulders. The second, called the Ziezari, or the six hundred, who are all of the size of grenadiers, stout young fellows, instituted by Abbas the Second for a guard to his person, anno 1654. The monarchs of Persia before that time had no guards in the palace, or when they went abroad, for the Sephis only served to make a show at festivals and on public occasions; they wear long red caps of the form of a sugar-loaf, and their arms are a musket, sabre, and poniard, which are adorned with silver, and exceeding fine; they are under the command of the general of the musketeers, and a small party of them do duty at the palace gates.

All the troops of Persia are comprehended under these two names of courtchis and coulars, that is, shepherds or slaves, by which they understand the soldiers of the old or new establishment. The Shah finds all the troops with horses, arms, and accoutrements; but every man provides himself with clothes according to his fancy, the soldiers having no particular livery, any more than the servants of the King's household, or of any great man. There was in the reign of Abbas the Great a body of twelve thousand men, that belonged to the artillery, but they were discharged in the reign of Abbas the Second, and the Persians had no artillery, unless some useless guns in the front of the palace at Isfahan, and in some other great towns, which are more for show than service, till they were new disciplined of late years by Shah Nadir.

8. Their armies were never large, considering the extent of the empire: Abbas the Great, who made such considerable conquests, had never more than a hundred and twenty thousand men in his service in all the provinces; and the soldiers have been so



ill paid in the late reigns, that they have deserted, and gone into foreign service, or applied themselves to other employments, which the courtiers winked at, putting their pay in their pockets, and never filling up their places. The Persian troops not being troubled with artillery or baggage, make prodigious swift marches, and fall upon an enemy frequently in his camp or quarters, with incredible fury, when he least suspects such a visit. At other times they cut off his provisions, and turn the waters from their usual course; and having sufficiently harassed him in a long march through a desert country, when he is fatigued and dispirited, fall upon him. When an enemy makes head against them they will fly till they have drawn him into some disadvantageous ground, and then return to the charge again.

In their retreat, as has been observed, they shoot more arrows than when they advance; as history acquaints us was the practice of the ancient Parthians. The Persians never throw up any intrenchments about their camps, their fortification is some mountain or difficult pass; but in sieges they intrench, and usually take a place by undermining it; and, it is thought, that no people understand mining and subterraneous works better than the Persians. It was thus they took Erivan, the capital of Armenia, from the Turks the last time. This city, in a very short space, found almost every part of it undermined; but as the Persians do not trouble themselves with artillery, so neither have they any bread-waggons or sutlers amongst them, and yet their camp is generally as well supplied as a camp need to be, the country people continually following them with provisions. Indeed, as rice and fruit is almost all they want, it can be no difficult matter to supply such small bodies as take the field in Persia, especially as they are perpetually in motion, and seldom stay long in a camp.

When they are apprehensive of an invasion, their constant method is to withdraw all the people on the frontiers, and destroy the country in such a manner as the enemy may find nothing to subsist on, not leaving so much as a spire of grass, or a tree upon the ground; but they give the husbandmen time to secure their grain, fruits, and forage, by burying them, with most part of their utensils, in deep pits, which they will do in such a manner that it is almost impossible to discover them; and as the earth is very dry, they receive no manner of damage. The army having thus destroyed the country for eight days' journey together, they encamp near it in separate bodies, and as they see occasion, fall upon the enemy and distress him in his march; sometimes they fall upon one quarter of his camp and sometimes on another, in the night-time; and if they cannot by this means put a stop to his march, they retire farther into the country, driving the people still before them, and destroying every thing as before; and by these means they have defeated the greatest Turkish armies.

When the enemy are retired every man returns to his lands again. As for the houses, those of the common people are no great loss, they are soon run up with clay or such materials as they find upon the place. The Persians are said to found their conduct upon this dilemma; either the enemy will invade us with great numbers, or but few; if he brings great numbers, considering the extent of desert ground he must march over, it is impossible he should subsist; if their numbers are but small, we shall harass them in their march till they come to nothing, without running the hazard of a battle.

9. The Persians are excellent marksmen, as well with their fire-arms, as their bows and arrows. Their colours are made of rich silks, in much the same manner as our horse standards; for a device they write some passage of the Alcoran, or part of their confession of faith, and sometimes have a lion, with the sun rising over his back, wrought in them. The great standard-bearer, whom they call Alemdar Bassa, is one of their

principal

principal military officers. The management of the soldiers' pay is much commended, because they do not suffer it to pass through their officers' hands, but every man receives it of the farmers of such lands as are appropriated for that purpose; the officer's pay is very good; the general of the musketeers, and the general of the coulars, have each of them above three thousand pounds a year; and as the lands assigned for the payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four times as much.

In time of peace they usually keep a body of six or seven thousand men in Chaldea towards Babylon, to prevent the incursions of the roving Arabs. The governor of Armenia has about five thousand men under his command, and the governor of Georgia a like number. In Chorasan they have usually eight thousand men to bridle the Usbeck Tartars, and such another body in the province of Candahar, towards India, and these troops being the out-guards of the empire, and almost in constant action, were esteemed pretty good; but as for the rest, who are cantoned in the inland country, they enjoyed so long a peace, that even travellers observe, they had not the air of soldiers.

In those parts of the country where they have sea for a boundary, they keep scarce any troops, insomuch, that in Gilan and Mazanderan, which lie on the Caspian Sea, the Cossacs have landed small parties, and plundered the country for several days together; and here the Muscovites very lately fixed themselves with very little opposition, though it be one of the richest and most fertile countries in the empire. The Persian generals are perplexed with nothing so much as the stupid conduct of the court, in attending to the predictions of their astrologers. These men are ever averse to war, because they are obliged to take the field with the Prince, and therefore seldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any consideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a war, they must prognosticate the lucky minute when to encamp, and when to march, &c. So that the generals lose the great advantages which might be made sometimes, by waiting till they consult the stars. The favourite women, and the eunuchs are no less averse to war than the astrologers; for in losing their Prince they lose their all, and, therefore, they constantly fall in with the astrologers, to divert their lord from every enterprize which carries a face of danger.

All this must be understood of the old line of which Thamas the son of Hussein, deposed by Mer-Weys, and afterwards restored, deposed again, and at last put to death by Thamas Kuli Kan, or with his privy, who thereupon assumed the title of Shah Nadir, was the last. It is a thing surprising that, considering the great extent of coast which they have upon the Persian Gulph and the ocean on the south, and the number of their provinces bordering upon the Caspian Sea, they should never think in earnest, or to speak with the greater propriety, should never think at all of raising a naval force, which if they had done, would have rendered them secure at home and respected abroad.

The only reason that can be assigned for this is, their neglect of trade, which defect in their constitution, if the ingenious reader will attentively consider, he will without difficulty discover, that it is the sole source of the frequent troubles, rebellions, and revolutions, which have so often brought the Persian government to the brink of ruin. This will be the more obvious to the reader, when we come to state the nature of property among the Persians, from whence it will appear, that the landed interest in that country is tolerably secured; but as the like provision is not made for the monied interest, people do not turn themselves sufficiently to those methods of subsistence that would make the government easy, and themselves happy.

10. The lands of Persia are either such as are cultivated, or such as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The lands in occupation.



occupation are of four kinds; the lands of the state, the Shah's demefne lands, the lands of the church, and lastly, those belonging to private men. The lands of the state contain much the greater part of what is cultivated, and are in the possession of the governors of the respective provinces, who out of them take their own revenue, and assign the rest for the payment of their officers, and the troops they are obliged to maintain; for every foldier has his pay assigned him upon some village or farm, in the same manner as in Sweden. The demefne lands are the Shah's particular estate, out of which are paid the officers of the household, and the troops he maintains over and above those which are maintained at the charge of the respective provinces, and the residue are given among the courtiers and favourites; or managed by the viziers and intendants, who remit the produce of them into the treasury.

The lands which belong to the church, are the donation of Princes or private men, and are accounted sacred, so that they are never taxed or confiscated for any crime whatever; and after one year's possession, the title of them cannot be called in question, on any account whatever. The lands of private men are held of the crown for the term of ninety-nine years, paying an inconsiderable quit-rent; and at the expiration of the term of ninety-nine years, they are allowed to renew their lease for the same number of years, on advancing one year's income. As to the cultivated lands, if any person desires to build upon them, or to convert any part of them into ploughed fields or gardens, the King's officers procure him a grant for ninety-nine years, under a small rent, which terms are renewed as other private estates; so that all ranks of men derive their estates immediately from the crown, and by this method have a perpetuity, on payment of their fines and accustomed rents.

The officers of the Shah, as well as private owners, let out their lands to husbandmen, upon condition of receiving a third part of the produce usually, but the rent is more or less according to the particular agreements of the parties; and the grain in Persia being subject to be destroyed by hail, drought, locusts, and other insects, the tenants never fail to insist on an abatement in these cases. When the destruction is very great, the husbandmen take the withered branches of trees, and the damaged ears of corn, and resort to the Shah's officers, complaining of the season, and their inability to pay their usual rent, if they have received never so little hurt; their complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an advantage of the misfortune.

Private landlords are less subject to be imposed upon in these cases, having the lands under their inspection; but then their tenants are not so much oppressed, and subject to such hardships as the tenants of the crown. The Shah's officers frequently pretend they have no authority to make abatements; and thereupon whole villages go up to court, and deliver their petitions to the Shah in person, insomuch that there is seldom less than seven or eight thousand people attending at Ispahan on these occasions. The court usually sends orders hereupon to the provinces to make such allowance as the nature of the case requires, or depute commissaries to enquire into the truth of the complaint, but in either case the crown is usually defrauded; for the countrymen so well understand the force of bribes, that they commonly shake a purse, and procure a favourable representation of the case from the officers sent to check them.

The Shah and private owners have the like profits of the husbandmen's cattle, as they have of their corn, as the third fleece, and the third part of the breed; and of fruit, the crown has still a greater share, there being not that charge of manuring and cultivating fruit-trees as there is of the grounds which produce grain.

The governors of provinces receive the same profits out of the lands of the state, towards the payment of the officers, and troops of the province, as the Shah does out

of his own lands, and every province besides makes large presents from time to time to the court, of the best the country affords, whether silk, grain, fruits, cattle, or whatever is in esteem among them; and these are sent up in such quantities, as are sufficient to supply the Shah's household, and therefore may be accounted a considerable part of the revenue. The Shah has also the seventh fleece, and the seventh of the breed of the cattle, in those lands which are not appropriated to his use; and this is a great addition to his revenue, for the shepherds of Persia, like the ancient patriarchs, possess vast flocks and herds, on which they continually attend, living in tents, and removing from one place to another, as they can meet with pasture for them; for those lands which are not the property of particular persons, are at liberty for all men to graze upon, though the the Shah's; and this payment of the seventh beast seems to be an acknowledgment of his property in them. These wealthy shepherds the people of the east call Saranetchin, from whence we have the word Saracen, that is to say, an inhabitant of the fields; for they live in tents, far from towns, two or three hundred together, and sometimes you see a thousand or two encamped in one place; they perfectly cover the plains with their flocks and herds, that sometimes you may be two or three hours in passing through them; and the Shah has an officer called Ichomban Bashi, or chief of the shepherds, residing in every province, who takes the seventh of the cattle for the Shah's use, viz. of sheep, asses, mules, camels, and goats; as to horses, it seems the Shah is entitled to every third colt; of silk and cotton also, it is said the Shah has a third part over the whole kingdom.

Minerals and precious stones belong to the Shah only, and he has two per cent. of all money. The money that is raised by the waters is another considerable part of the revenue, for every person pays for their being let into his fields or gardens; nothing will grow in that parched country without it. A tribute is also paid to the crown by all people who are not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, and this amounts to a ducat a head; and there is a tax of ten-pence on every shop of the handicraft trades, and twenty pence on the rest. The customs and port duties are another branch of the revenue, but these do not amount to much here, for they have no considerable port except Gambron. As for the merchandize carried into Persia or out of it by land, they only pay a small sum for a camel's load, and proportionably for every mule or ox, without examining what the packs contain. But that part of the revenue which is merely casual, exceeds all the rest, viz. what arises by the confiscated estates, and the presents which are made by the great lords, governors of provinces, &c. and particularly those which are made on New-year's Day. They present the Shah with wrought silks, horses, asses, beautiful boys and girls, gold, silver, precious stones, perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may serve for use, ornament, or the pleasures of life; and as there are several handicraft trades which pay no duties to the crown, as carpenters, masons, and some others, these are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without pay; whatever buildings or palaces the Shah erects or repairs, he has only the materials to find, the warden or chief of the trade is obliged to send a certain number of workmen, which saves the treasury a great deal of money, and therefore the labour of those people may well be esteemed part of the revenue. The maintenance of ambassadors, and the providing them with carriages, is done also at the charge of the country, and costs the Shah nothing. When he has a mind to reward any person for any signal piece of service, this is done also at the expence of another; he sends him perhaps to one of the chans or great courtiers, with the calaat or royal vest, for which the chan makes the messenger a present usually of ten times the value or more, according to the post he is in. The Shah sometimes expresses the



very sum he expects should be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of respect, and as a proof the person values the Prince's favour. But notwithstanding the impositions above-mentioned, the people do not seem to be oppressed or impoverished; even the tradesmen and husbandmen appear to be in easy circumstances, and few of them but have rings on their fingers and arms. One great advantage to the subject is, that scarce any of the duties are farmed, and in times of scarcity the court is very indulgent and ready to make abatement of their rents and taxes in proportion to the occasion. As to poll or personal taxes there are none in Persia, unless that which is levied upon those of a different religion; nor are necessary provisions of any kind taxed.

What the revenue of the crown may amount to in the whole is very uncertain, depending so much as it does upon casualties; those who have attempted to compute it say, that one year with another the revenue amounts to four millions of our money; which, considering their troops are most of them paid out of the lands of the state, that are not reckoned into this account, is very considerable; but as the splendour and magnificence of the Persian court is much beyond any thing we have in Europe, possibly very little of it may remain in the treasury at the year's end. The court, whether it remains at Isfahan, Mesched, or any other capital, or removes from one province to another, as it used to do during the summer, if we consider the women, the eunuchs, and other officers and servants, seldom consist of less than ten thousand persons which belong to the household, not including the troops, or the great men and their dependents, which it must require an immense sum to maintain. The officers of the revenue send every year up to court the state of their province, and what every town and village produces, examined and attested by the principal inhabitants of the respective places, which are looked upon as so many debentures; and these given in payment to those who are entitled to pensions or salaries from the crown. In like manner every governor pays all the officers and soldiers of his province, with assignments on the lands belonging to the province; there is very little money disbursed on those occasions, and where the pay is small, as that of the common soldiers and inferior servants, one man is deputed from the troop or company to receive the wages of the rest, and the residue, after all demands are satisfied, is remitted into the imperial treasury.

It may not be amiss to add a few words concerning the seals under which acts of state are passed in Persia; they have five seals, which are used in five several branches of business, one in all such affairs as concern the demesne lands. A second for commissions, letters patent, &c. The third only in military affairs. The fourth about the revenue; and the fifth in things relating to the household. There are no arms engraven upon them, but on one there are the names of the twelve imans or patriarchs; on the others, a scrap of the Alcoran, or some pious expression, shewing their dependence on God, and his prophet Mahomet. The form of one of the seals is round, two others are square, and the other two are of an irregular form. The largest are about the bigness of a crown-piece, and the others about half that bigness. They are made of turquoises, rubies, emeralds, or some other precious stones. The principal seal the Shah always wears about his neck, and on every Friday all instruments which require these seals are carried to the palace, and sealed in the Shah's presence. The impression is made on the paper with a kind of thick ink, and not on wax as with us; the same usage prevails in most of the eastern courts.

11. The generality of the world will agree, from this view of the Persian policy, that there is no reason, so long as their government continues in a settled condition, to look upon the whole nation as slaves and beasts of burthen. It is very certain that there are great errors in this, as well as in all the constitutions founded in the Khoran,

and

and it must be so, for that book itself is a mere system of tyranny; and which is worst of all, it is pretended that this system came from God. It is upon this principle that the absolute power of their princes is built: for as to all the qualifications besides, they are brought in from the remains of the old Persian government, which by their apparent wisdom, and natural rectitude, have continued in use through all invasions, and in spite of all changes of government. Thus the governors, treasurers, and secretaries of provinces are precisely mentioned, both by sacred writers, and by the Greek historians, as well as modern travellers. The profound respect borne to the Shah is the remains of that reverence paid to their emperors of old, of which the heathen writers are full, which Alexander would have transferred to himself, and for which chiefly the Romans looked upon the Parthians as a barbarous nation.

But above all, the new-years gifts are the strongest testimonies of the difficulty there is in extirpating ancient customs among any set of people. This was the practice in the most early times, and the Persian emperors with all their pride were then very humble to and familiar with their people. They ate and drank with them in public; they gave audience to all who desired it, and as they received presents even from the meanest, so they received every man's petition, and granted almost every man his request.

There are many other things in which the modern Persians resemble very much their remotest ancestors, but in nothing more than in their natural inclination to and wonderful genius for poetry. This is so universal, that every chan, and indeed every rich and powerful man, keeps a poet in his house, to whom occasionally they give themes, and it is wonderful how well and how suddenly they execute them. These sort of people also frequent coffee-houses, and other public places, where, for the amusement of idle people, they repeat their performances with infinite spirit, and with inimitable grace. It is certain that the Persians are very nice in their rhyme, but somewhat loose in their numbers, that is to say, they regard cadence more than quantity. Yet no nation in the world has more of that enthusiasm, which is the essence of poetry, the very sound of their verses sufficiently distinguishes the subject, even to the ears of those who are little acquainted with their language; so that foreigners are never at a loss to know whether their poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to instruct, or calculated only to divert.

In short, almost all their learning consists in poetry, for their proverbs are in rhyme, so are their fables, and they have histories in verse of a great length, which, though sufficiently crowded with fable, are seldom or never without a ground of truth. It is true that their modern writers, many of them, make use of prose, but even this is intermixed with verse, and they are also very apt to quote verses in conversation, which they are observed to do with great propriety. But it is worth our notice, that no kind of writing is here so much in fashion as satyr, which is mostly national, and falls, generally speaking, upon their neighbours. As for example, they represent the Turks as brutes and barbarians; and whenever they have a mind to represent a blockhead, they are sure to paint him in a Turkish dress. The great indolence, effeminacy and luxury of the Indians, are likewise common topics of raillery, and so are the faults and follies of the Tartars; the pride and self-sufficiency of the Georgians; the cunning and self-interest of the Russians, and the covetousness of the Europeans are frequently exposed by their wits.

They are far from being ignorant of music as a science; they learn by rule, and they play by note, though in a manner so different from ours, that it is a long time before it becomes pleasant to a stranger's ear. There is no such thing as singing in parts, but



but they sing one after another, and they generally sing to some stringed instruments, like the lute or viol : their men sing better than the women, but there are not many of them that practise it, singing being looked upon as a scandalous employment in Persia, as well as dancing. People of condition will not suffer children to learn either the one or the other, but it is left almost entirely to the common wenches and prostitutes, as it is indeed all over the East. It is reckoned an indecency in people of any reputation to sing, and it would render a man contemptible who should attempt it in company. The Persians call their singing-women, *Caine*, intimating that they derive their skill from the daughters of Cain, who they pretend were the first inventors of singing and music in the East.

They have a great number of instruments both of string and wind music, some in shape like our hautboys and flutes, others like the viol, harp, virginals, kettle-drums and trumpets ; but surely their trumpet is the most monstrous instrument for size and sound that can be met with ; it is commonly seven or eight feet long, and proportionably wide at the great end, and as much as a man can hold up ; these and their drums in a manner drown all other sounds, though the lesser instruments, as has been observed, have no great harmony in them : and indeed their music, as it is called, serves chiefly instead of clocks, to let people know the time of day or night, sounding constantly at certain hours, for bells they have none ; and when the Shah or any great man goes out of his palace, you have always notice of it by these drums and trumpets, who stand over the palace gate, or in some balcony or gallery, and play upon such occasions, being heard at a vast distance. In some places the music and dancing girls make part of a great man's equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.

It is observable that the strings of their instruments are never made of gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead animal, especially the entrails, being held a pollution ; they make them therefore of twisted silk or brass wire, and it is not only indecent, as has been observed, for people of condition to play upon a musical instrument, but it seems also to be prohibited by their religion, and therefore their ecclesiastics and devotees will not so much as be present at such entertainments.

Astronomy is studied in Persia purely for the sake of astrology, which last they term the revelation of the stars. The people of the East look upon astrology as the key to futurity, and they have an insatiable curiosity for prying into things to come. This seems to be the principal end of their studies, and they look upon a person to be stupid and ignorant to the last degree who speaks slightly of this science. The astrologers of Persia, at least the most celebrated, are all natives of the province of Charasan or Bactria, and the most noted among them of the town of Genabed. The Shah never entertains an astrologer who is not of that town. The reason that the astronomers here have more skill in their art than elsewhere, it is said, is because the air is drier and purer, by which means they have a better opportunity to observe the motions of the stars. If we consider the number of astrologers that are found in Persia, the rank they hold, and the large pensions they receive from the crown, we may easily guess at the confidence that people put in them ; they are paid by the government no less than four hundred thousand pounds per annum.

To the post of chief astrologer to his Imperial Majesty there is annexed a pension of ten thousand pounds per annum, and to the second astrologer five thousand pounds per annum, and to the rest according to their skill. They have also in presents annually two hundred thousand pounds, and yet they are sometimes arbitrarily punished, and put to death for the most trivial offences, and even for actions the most innocent in themselves, according to the caprice of their prince. Sir John Chardin relates, that in

the reign of Sefi, when the Shah and all the great men were assembled to see some criminals of state cut in pieces, and the chief of the astrologers was there among the rest; the Shah viewing attentively the countenances of his courtiers, observed that the principal astrologer shut his eyes at every stroke of the sabré, as not able to behold so horrible a slaughter; he thereupon called to the governor of a prince who sat near him, and bid him put out the eyes of that dog who sat at his left hand, since he did not use them, which was executed in an instant on the unhappy astrologer, which part of his destiny the stars never revealed to him.

There are constantly a certain number of astrologers in waiting at the royal palace, and always some of the chief of them about the Shah's person, except when he is in the haram with his women, who advertise him of the lucky or unlucky moments. Every one of them carries an astrolabe hanging at his girdle, in a neat little case not bigger than the hollow of one's hand; they are consulted not only in affairs of importance, but frequently upon the least trifles; for instance, if His Imperial Majesty shall go abroad; if it be an auspicious hour to enter the haram; if it be a proper time to eat, or to give audience, &c. When these questions are asked, the astrologer immediately takes out his astrolabe, observes the situation of the stars, and by the assistance of his tables makes his astrological conclusions, to which they give entire faith as to an oracle, offending against which would be dangerous.

Their astronomers observe pretty justly the eclipses of the sun and moon, and often foretel the very moment wherein those luminaries will be obscured; but there are instances of their being mistaken half an hour, and especially in eclipses of the sun; but they differ from us in nothing more than in the calculation of the vernal equinox, there being sometimes an hour's difference between them and the Europeans. Comets, they apprehend, always portend some great calamity, but generally suppose their malign influences are directed against some other empire than their own. They had neither celestial globes, or charts, or telescopes to observe the constellations, till the Europeans imported them; they have since indeed endeavoured to imitate their celestial globes, and had only some representations of the constellations before in a book, called *The Schemes of Abdal Rhamen*. It is observable, however, that the figures were much the same as on our globes; the longitudes and latitudes of the stars are also marked, but a little different from ours. The Persians generally make forty-eight constellations, and the names of them, for the most part, are the same we give them; but some of them are different. The only instruments they use in any of their operations, are the astrolabe and Jacob's staff; and as it is with these alone they take the elevation of the pole, it cannot be supposed that their latitudes are very exact; their astrolabes, it is true, are very curiously made, and commonly by those who use them.

The Persian almanack is called *takumi*; it is properly a mixture of astronomy and judicial astrology, containing an account of the conjunctions, oppositions, aspects, longitudes, latitudes, and, in short, the whole disposition of the heavens. It contains also prognostics of the most notable events, as war, famine, plenty, diseases, and other accidents of human life, with the lucky or unlucky times for transacting all manner of affairs, directing the people to regulate their conduct accordingly. The festivals also are marked, as in our almanacs, but whereas we divide the year into four parts, they make only two, winter and summer. What is most observable is, that though there are great numbers of these almanac-makers, and though they frequently disagree even in their astronomical calculations, as well as their predictions, they are nevertheless looked upon as infallible; a thing scarce to be credited, if we had not some examples of the same kind nearer home.



Their prognostications are generally taken from the moon, their artists believing that this sublunary world, as it is called, is much more influenced by this planet than by the sun. And these astrologers, like other oracles, endeavour constantly to deliver themselves in dubious and equivocal expressions, which may bear various meanings; so that if their predictions prove true in any sense, or but in part, they are sure to meet with applause, though they should fail in some circumstances. They seem to regard the earth more than the heavens, and to be governed by the consideration of probable circumstances rather than the constellations, and their predictions on that account are frequently found true. For instance, their almanacks are always published in the spring, when the winter is passed, and according to the weather they then had it is no difficult matter to foretel, whether they shall have good or bad crops in the summer, especially in a climate where it does not vary as in Europe; and from the same premises they will be able to pass a tolerable judgment on the health or sickness of the ensuing seasons. But above all, as the astrologers are always about the court, and have so great a share in the administration of affairs, and such credit with all the world, they may be supposed to make very shrewd guesses in relation to politics. They cannot but observe the humours and dispositions of the Prince and his favourites, the likelihood there is that one will be restored, and another disgraced. Nay, they know very well what an influence themselves have in these cases, inasmuch that there very rarely happens a considerable alteration in the state but it is brought about, and is, indeed, the effect of some of their own predictions.

But astrology is not the only foible of this kind, for they have various other sorts of divination, which have grown into use by degrees, under the several changes of their government. It is true, that for the most part their astrologers practise these, but not exclusively, for there are others who practise them likewise, more especially geomancy, which is the favourite method of divining throughout all the east. Charms and amulets against diseases and enchantments are another part of their superstition; you will not find a Persian without his amulet, and some of them almost loaded with them, they put them also about the necks of their domestic animals; these amulets have certain inscriptions on paper, and sometimes on precious stones, and these inscriptions they wear in little bags about them; they contain some passages of the Alcoran, or sentences of their saints or prophets, applicable to the disease or enchantment they would avert: the Persians also are extravagantly superstitious in relation to days and times. They depend in these cases as much on the diviners and astrologers, as a child upon its nurse; for instance, when the Shah is upon a journey the astrologers will make him rise at midnight, and begin his march in the worst weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high road, to avoid the unfortunate hour, or his evil stars, as from ignorance or knavery they most impudently call them.

We must not, however, imagine, notwithstanding these follies are very general, that there is not some kind of real and useful learning amongst this great nation. Moral philosophy is in high credit with them, and is not only taught but practised; they have many excellent and judicious books upon this subject, in which the vicissitudes of human life, and the folly of placing happiness in sensual enjoyments, are very fully and very finely stated. As for the ordinary parts of education, and such as may fit youth for common business, they have as many conveniences as other people. There are abundance of schools in every town, where, besides the Persian, is taught the Arabic, which is their learned language; the Alcoran, and their other sacred writings, are all in this language; and the Alcoran is looked upon as the standard of good language both for grammar and rhetoric. People of condition chuse to have private tutors for  
 their

their children, rather than send them to these public schools; and no nation, it is said, is more intent on the education of children, and breeding them up to manly exercises than the Persians. Their schools are called *Mekteb*, which signifies an entrance; this being, say they, the gate by which the lads enter into the sciences.

There are, as has been said, many in every town, and the expence of schooling is very small. They learn the Persian and Arabian languages, with writing and accounts, which when they are arrived at some perfection in, they are removed to some college, or *Medres*, as they call them, which signifies a place where their doctrines or principles of their religion are taught. Their colleges are all endowed, and some of them very richly; the largest have fifty or sixty apartments, and to each of them belong two chambers. In those colleges that are best endowed, every scholar has about two shillings a day allowed him, which he lays out as he thinks fit, for they do not common together.

There are some colleges where the students have no more than a penny a day, and yet interest is made to get into one of these on account of having a lodging gratis, and some other casual advantages. Many here are, who get in without any design to study, and live and grow old in those houses, and are allowed to have their wives and children with them, whose principal design seems to be in ease and idleness. There are abundance of colleges in the great towns of Persia, and some in the villages. The Persians lay out the greatest part of their charities in public foundations. In the first place, they usually build a *caravanferai* for the lodging of travellers gratis; afterwards a *bagnio*, a coffee-house, a bazar, or market-place, and they purchase also a garden, and these they let out, and apply the revenues arising from them towards the building and endowing of a college. The founder and his heirs have the appointment of the head and governors of the society; and if the founder's estate happens to be forfeited to the crown, the Shah has the nomination. In *Ispahan* there are fifty-seven colleges, most of them of royal foundation, or which have devolved to the crown; there are professors who teach the sciences in every college, to whom the scholars make an annual allowance for their trouble; but as there are several who read lectures gratis, the scholars frequently resort to these, and forsake their proper tutors.

Those students who are men of parts and learning, may have a salary in any great man's house for instructing his children; for these never send their children either to schools or colleges, but have them educated in their own house. The head of the house admits or excludes whom he sees fit, and pays the students their pensions monthly, so that they shew him abundance of respect. Besides their colleges, there are in every town those who teach the liberal arts gratis, and these are frequently great officers who have been discarded, or have voluntarily retired from court. These frequently allow their disciples books and paper, and entertain them at their own expence certain days in the week, and sometimes clothe their pupils and give them money, and by this means they endeavour to recover their reputation with the people; for nothing gives a gentleman such a reputation in Persia, as the instructing great numbers of scholars at their own expence, and their being patrons of learning and learned men. These are circumstances that must effectually prove, that the Europeans have no right to treat the Persians as a rude and barbarous people.

As the customs and manners, so the reading and learning of all nations must differ, and the wider and more remote these differences are, the readier the vulgar on both sides seem to be in deriding and contemning each other; but as this humour proceeds from the same principle in both cases, viz. that of presuming themselves to be the standard by which the wisdom and civility, the learning and politeness of all other nations are to be determined;



terminated ; and as this is a point not to be defended, it ought to be given up as no better than a popular error in both. It has been already observed, that a great part of the modern constitution of Persia is derived from the ancient form of government that prevailed under their old Emperors, that is, the series of Princes, who governed that which is so well known to the learned world, by the title of the second general empire, allowing the Assyrian to be the first. It is, therefore, well worthy our notice, that constitutions judiciously settled, are of so permanent a nature, and have such an interior strength and solidity, as not only to resist the power of time, but even of repeated invasions, to which it is certain, that no country in the world has been more subject than this of which we are speaking. We may from hence discern, that though nations waste away, and are lost, as well as all the monuments of their power and greatness, yet the effects of their wisdom remain, and the conquerors themselves are content to receive and submit, for their own sakes, and from a conviction of their excellence, to the laws of the conquered.

We know that this has been heretofore observed of the Egyptians ; we know that in much later times it has been confessed in reference to the Chinese, but I do not remember to have seen this remark made before as to the Persians. Yet I arrogate nothing to myself upon this head ; for whoever reads Dr. Hyde's learned book, and compares it with the modern accounts of Persia, must discover it at first sight. At this day the whole plan of the Persian constitution, except the ecclesiastical part of it, which is changed by the introduction of Mahometanism, is very near the same that it was three thousand years ago ; and yet the Persees, who are the remains of the ancient people of Persia, to whom that constitution belonged, are now reduced to so inconsiderable a remnant, that it is doubted whether there may be ten thousand souls left in Persia of this race. Those that are left, indeed, preserve their primitive customs, and are authentic witnesses of the truths reported of them by the most learned writers. It is, indeed, true, that there is another small colony of these people in the Indies, and it may not be amiss to put the reader in mind of a conjecture, mentioned in Commodore Ruggewin's voyage, that some islands, discovered by him in the South Seas, are actually peopled by the relicts of these ancient Persians.

I had myself an opportunity of conversing for several years with a very sensible physician, who went that voyage, to whom I was indebted for many of the particulars published therein ; and who is dead since they were published. Of this gentleman I very carefully enquired what the reasons were which induced him and his companions to advance that notion, which at first sight is none of the most probable. He told me the causes were chiefly three ; First, that their complexions, in the sentiments of those who had seen some of the Gubers in Persia, very much resembled them, and were very unlike either the inhabitants of Afric, or of India ; for whereas the former are of a black, and the latter of a reddish or iron colour ; these were of a light olive, and yet their aspects differed absolutely from the Chinese and Tartars. The second cause he assigned, was their worshipping the sun and fire ; turning towards the east when they prayed, and using a low or whispering voice, all of which are suitable enough to the Gubers, or Gaurs, as the Turks call them. The third was the innocency of their manners, the quiet and peaceable life they lead, the pains they took in cultivating their lands, and their great industry in several ingenious manufactures. I shall not take upon me to determine what credit is due to these conjectures, but shall content myself with observing, that they are worth remembering ; and considering perhaps, our posterity may have an opportunity by conversing with these people, to enter into them more minutely.

One thing more I recollect that passed upon this subject, and it was this that ingenious gentleman observed to me, that though we had various travels through and accounts of Persia, yet we had no general or correct history of it, by which a curious person might see in a little time, what changes had happened therein, from the earliest ages down to the present, which he thought might be of very great use, even though it were digested into a very narrow compass. Upon mature deliberation, I saw the truth and expediency of this in the strongest light, and that nothing disabled us so much in this part of the world from forming a right judgment of affairs in those parts, as the not having distinct and correct views of the successions of their Princes.



## OBSERVATIONS

MADE ON

*A TOUR FROM BENGAL TO PERSIA,*

IN THE YEARS 1786-7.

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE REMAINS OF THE CELEBRATED PALACE OF  
PERSEPOLIS, AND OTHER INTERESTING EVENTS.

*By WILLIAM FRANCKLIN,*

ENSIGN ON THE HON. COMPANY'S BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT, LATELY RETURNED FROM PERSIA.

ON the 27th of February 1786, I embarked on board the ship Yarmouth, Captain Greenly commander, for Bombay, in my way to Persia, having obtained a furlough from the Council, for three years.

On the 7th of March we left the pilot. — 22d March we made the land, about 12 o'clock P. M. — ran past our port in the night about twelve miles: — 23d, all day nearly becalmed; anchored at six in the evening: — 24th, at day-light, made sail; at seven, saw the flag-staff at Point de Galle; at twelve, went on shore.

*Point de Galle.*] Point de Galle is a small fort, situated on the south-west side of the island of Ceylon, belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and has a commandant and a small military force; the commandant is subject to the orders of the governor of Columbo, the chief residency on the same island; the inhabitants, excepting the Dutch, are a mixture of Malabars and native Portuguese; but great numbers of the latter, especially of the lower class of people. There is a tolerable tavern here, the only one in the place; the living very cheap. Here is little trade at this place, excepting on account of the Dutch Company. Topazes, amethysts, and other precious stones, are found on the island of Ceylon, and brought here for sale; but it is dangerous to purchase them, when set, without being skilled in those commodities; the people who sell them being very expert in making the false stones appear like true ones, by colouring them at the bottom. No kind of spice, nutmegs, or any other rarities for which this island is so celebrated, are to be met with at this place; nor did we, on our approach to the island, perceive any of those odoriferous gales described by travellers, as exhaling from the cinnamon and other spices with which this island abounds. The harbour is circular; at the entrance of it lie many rocks, just above the surface of the water, which make it very dangerous for strange ships to go in, without a pilot; the waves beat with amazing violence against the fortifications. Along, and almost all around the harbour, are the country houses of the inhabitants, which have a pleasing effect to the eye; the road to these, by land, is through a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which forms an agreeable shade. However, this place must be very unhealthy, as very high hills lie close behind the houses, and exhale noxious vapours both morning and evening, which make it very precarious to the inhabitants in point of health; they are in general sickly, but particularly Europeans. I observed, in the course of a few hours' stay on shore, several people whose legs were swelled in a most extraordinary

extraordinary manner; this the natives account for, from the badness of the water, and the vapours which arise from the adjoining hills. I have heard that the inhabitants of Malacca are liable to the same disease, and from similar causes.

Fish is to be had here in great plenty; poultry of all kinds is very scarce; the fruits are chiefly plantains, pine-apples, and pumple noses; the cocoa-nuts are also in great plenty and very good; the bread is tolerable, but the butter execrable, it being little better than train oil; and indeed this is the case in all the Dutch settlements, and most other foreign ones, the French and English excepted. We slept on shore that night; and, not being able to sell any part of the cargo, the next morning went on board, and sailed immediately. On the 29th saw the land a little to the eastward of Cape Comorin, and the 31st of March came to anchor in the roads of Anjengo, where we found the Company's ship the Duke of Montrose, waiting for a cargo of pepper. On the 1st of April went on shore at day-light, and returned on board in the evening.

*Anjengo.*] Anjengo is a small fort and English residency, the first that you arrive at upon the Malabar coast from Cape Comorin: the inhabitants are Malabars and native Portuguese, mixed. It is reported to be one of the first places in India for intelligence, and the English have received great service from it in that respect during the late war; it would be still more advantageous if the road to Europe by way of Suez was open, but that has been for some time shut up, on account of some unhappy differences. At Anjengo there is a post to several parts of India; this is but lately established. On the 2d of April, sailed; 6th, saw a ship at anchor in Cocheen roads, which we could not enter, being driven off by the most violent gale of wind I ever experienced; it lasted six-and-thirty hours without cessation, the sea running mountains high. Fortunately, the ship received no damage, excepting the loss of the main yard, which was broken in two. On the 8th we found ourselves, by observation, to the northward of our port: on the 9th, came to anchor in Cocheen roads, and went on shore immediately.

*Cocheen.*] Cocheen is a large settlement belonging to the Dutch East India Company. It is very populous, and a place of great trade; the inhabitants are a mixture of a variety of Eastern nations, being composed of Malabars, Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Jews, Indians, and native Portuguese. The Jews occupy a whole village, a little to the westward of the town; they live separate from the rest of the inhabitants: I went into several of their houses, and could not help observing, in this people, a striking peculiarity of features, different from any I had ever seen; a resemblance seemed to run through the whole, as if they were all of one family: they seldom or ever marry out of their own tribe, by which the likeness is preserved, from father to son, for a long time. I am told there is the same similarity of features to be observed amongst the Jews of Amsterdam in Holland, and other parts of Europe. This certainly serves to distinguish them more as an original people than any other. They have a good synagogue here, and are less oppressed, and have more liberty, than in most other parts of the East. The rajah of Cocheen resides here, but lives in an indifferent state, being so much oppressed by the Nabob Tippoo on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, as to have little or nothing left for himself. He is a Gentoo. Cocheen, in former times, was a place of considerable celebrity, and was one of the places pitched upon by the first Portuguese settlers in the East, after the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama; but that people have now very little left of the vast wealth and power they formerly enjoyed; a revolution of three centuries has reduced them below mediocrity in the general scale of European adventurers. The fort is a very large one, and very well fortified on the land side;



side; towards the sea not so well, but it is secured by a very dangerous bar, which will not admit of ships coming nearer the shore than three or four miles. There are some regular Dutch troops in the garrison, and a few native militia; there was also here part of a French regiment, which the Dutch borrowed during the late war. Provisions of every kind are to be had here in the greatest plenty. The 10th failed; on the 15th, we came to anchor in Tellicherry roads; 16th, having received a very polite invitation from my friend and school-fellow Mr. Ince, I went on shore, and spent several very pleasant days with him.

*Tellicherry.*] Among other places I saw in and about Tellicherry, I had a view of the fortifications, or rather of the regular lines drawn round Tellicherry, for the defence of the place against the Nabob Hyder Ali, during the late war. These lines are exceedingly strong; they take in a space of about three miles and a half in circumference, and are well defended by batteries and redoubts; a river runs parallel to the western angle, which breaking off from thence runs among the hills: here the English troops sustained a severe siege for several years, against the army of Hyder, under the command of Sadik Khan; however, on the arrival of Major Abingdon with a reinforcement from the Bombay settlement, the garrison made a most spirited and successful sally, in which having defeated the enemy and killed great numbers of them, they at length compelled them to raise the siege; obtaining, at the same time, a considerable booty of horses, tents, and elephants. The general of the enemy was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, and died a few days after, of that and a broken heart, at Tellicherry. I am informed that if he had lived and returned to the presence, he would have been cashiered, as the Nabob Hyder had set his heart on the reduction of the place. He lies buried close to the fort of Tellicherry; a tomb has been erected to him, in which lamps are continually burning, which many Mussulmen visit out of respect to the memory of the deceased. The lines in some parts appear rather out of order, as they have not been thoroughly repaired since the siege of the place, and I am inclined to think a great number of troops would be requisite for their defence against a resolute enemy, owing to their great extent; they are now repairing throughout, as the government entertain an idea of the importance of the place, which is certainly considerable, in case of a war with Hyder, as by his being in possession of it he might greatly injure the other settlements of the English on the Malabar Coast.

The garrison of Tellicherry consists generally, in time of peace, of one battalion of sepoy, a company of artillery, and sometimes a company of European infantry; they are also able to raise about three thousand native militia. The view of the country round Tellicherry is very pleasant, consisting of irregular hills and vallies. The boundaries of the English are terminated by the opposite side of the river, and at a very little distance is a strong fortress of the Nabob Hyder; if the lines were once to be forced, the place would soon fall, the fort of Tellicherry itself having no kind of defence. Tellicherry is esteemed by all who reside there, to be one of the healthiest places in India, Europeans seldom dying there; it is also much resorted to by convalescents: the sea produces plenty of very fine oysters, and provisions of all kinds are to be had in abundance.

I observed, in the Company's garden, the pepper vine, which grows in a curious manner, and something similar to the grape; the pepper on it, when fit to gather, appears in small bunches; it is in size something larger than the head of a small pea; the pepper, however, for the Company's ships' cargoes, is brought from some distance in the country. Tellicherry also produces the coffee tree.

On the 28th, in the evening, we sailed ; and on the 29th we anchored in the roads of Goa, off the Fort Alguarda.

*Goa.*] Goa is a large city, and was once populous ; it is the capital of the Portuguese settlements on this side the Cape of Good Hope ; it is the residence of a Captain General sent from Portugal, who lives in great splendour. The city stands upon the banks of a river of the same name, about twelve miles distant from the entrance of the harbour : the view up this river is truly delightful, the banks on either side are adorned with churches, and country seats of the Portuguese, interspersed with groves and vallies ; the river has several pleasing openings as it winds along, its banks are low, but the hills behind rise to an amazing height, and add grandeur to the spectacle, greatly tending also to beautify the prospect. The city of Goa itself is adorned with many fine churches, magnificently decorated ; and has several handsome convents. The church of Saint Augustine is a noble structure, and is adorned in the inside by many fine pictures ; it stands on the top of a hill, from whence you have an extensive view of the city and adjacent country : it is a circumstance that has always been observed, and very justly, that the Portuguese have ever chosen the spots for their convents and churches in the most delightful situations. I have observed it in the *Brazils*, and the inhabitants of Goa have by no means failed in attention to this point, all their public buildings being well situated. The body of this church is spacious, and the grand altar-piece finished in the most elegant style. The building of the choir is of Gothic architecture, and therefore of antiquity. This church has a convent adjoining to it, in which live a set of religious monks, of the order of St. Augustine : some of the brothers of this convent have given popes and cardinals to the Roman See, appears by their portraits which are hung up in a neat chapel dedicated to St. Augustine, the patron of the order. Adjoining to this church is a convent of religious women, who have taken the veil, and are therefore prohibited from all kind of intercourse with the world : these chiefly consist of the daughters and nieces of the Portuguese inhabitants of the place ; and a sum of money is generally given with them, on their entrance into the convent. A little lower, on the declivity of the hill, stands another church, dedicated to the Bon Jesus, in which is the chapel of Saint Francisco de Xaviere, whose tomb it contains : this chapel is a most superb and magnificent place ; the tomb of the saint is entirely of fine black marble, brought from Lisbon ; on the four sides of it the principal actions of the life of the Saint are most elegantly carved in basso relievo ; these represent his converting the different nations to the Catholic faith : the figures are done to the life, and most admirably executed : it extends to the top in a pyramidical form, which terminates with a coronet of mother-of-pearl. On the sides of this chapel are excellent paintings, done by Italian masters ; the subjects chiefly from scripture. This tomb, and the chapel appertaining to it, must have cost an immense sum of money ; the Portuguese justly esteem it the greatest rarity in the place. In the valley below is another convent for young ladies who have not taken the veil ; out of this convent the Portuguese and others who go there may marry : some of the ladies have small portions, others none. As far as I could learn, the ceremony observed on taking out one of these ladies is as follows : When a gentleman, after visiting often at the grate, shall have chosen one to whom he wishes to pay his addresses, an exchange of rings between the parties is first made ; after which the lover is permitted to visit his mistress in the convent, in the presence of one of the matrons ; then if he still holds his purpose, he is obliged to make a solemn promise of marriage, in the presence of the archbishop of the place ; which being done, he may take



take her away whenever he pleases : after which the archbishop marries them. It is, however, to be observed, that the lover, whoever he is, must first make profession of the Roman Catholic persuasion, otherwise no connection would be allowed. I saw three of the young ladies, who were really fine girls, and could not help making some reflections on their unhappy situation ; shut up in a wretched convent, where they must pine away their youth, unless capricious chance should befriend them in the appearance of a husband : and being deprived of the company of men, for whom they were formed to grace society and create affection, they must, if capable of reflection, think themselves most unhappy.

The Captain-General of Goa is also Commander in Chief of all the Portuguese forces in the East Indies. They have here two regiments of European infantry, three legions of sepoy, three troops of native light horse, and a militia ; in all, about five thousand men. Goa is at present on the decline, and in little or no estimation with the country powers ; indeed their bigotry and superstitious attachment to their faith is so general, that the inhabitants, formerly populous, are now reduced to a few thinly inhabited villages ; the chief part of whom have been baptized ; for they will not suffer any Mussulman or Gentoo to live within the precincts of the city ; and these few are unable to carry on the husbandry or manufactures of the country. The court of Portugal is obliged to send out annually a very large sum of money, to defray the current expences of the government ; which money is generally swallowed up by the convents and soldiery. If other measures are not pursued, Goa must, in a very few years, sink to nothing : though it is evident that the internal decay of the government has been occasioned by the oppression and bigotry of the priests, and the expulsion of so many useful hands ; yet the court of Portugal cannot be prevailed upon to alter its measures, although the flourishing situation of the English and other European settlements (and of which one cause is certainly the mild and tolerant principles adhered to in points of religion, provided it interferes not with the affairs of government) is continually before their eyes. The Nabob Tippu has lately shewn an inclination to attack them, but was suddenly called off by the Marratas : the Portuguese much fear he will return ; and should he, there is little doubt but that the place will surrender to him. The glorious times of Albuquerque are now no more ; power and wealth have long since taken their flight from the discoverers of the East ! There was formerly an inquisition at this place, but it is now abolished ; the building still remains, and by its black outside appears a fit emblem of the cruel and bloody transactions that passed within its walls ! Provisions are to be had at this place in great plenty and perfection ; the Captain-General lives in great state ; he is a well-bred man, and fond of the company of the English, whom he treats with great hospitality.—24th, sailed ; May 13th saw the light-house at Bombay, about nine in the morning.

*Bombay.*] The island of Bombay is in the possession of the English East India Company ; it is situated on the Coast of Conkan, in Lat. 19 North, and Long. 72. 38. East ; it was granted, as part of the marriage portion with the Infanta of Portugal, to Charles II. The harbour is capable of containing three hundred sail of ships with the greatest safety : there is also a most excellent dock, in which ships of his Majesty's squadron, and others, are repaired, refitted, and completely equipped for sea. They build also here all sorts of vessels ; and the workmen in the yard are very ingenious and dexterous, not yielding to our best ship-wrights in England. This island is very beautiful, and as populous for its size as any in the world ; merchants and others coming to settle here from the different parts of the Deckan, Malabar, and Coromandel ; as well as the Guzerat country : amongst those of the latter place, are many Persee

families; these are descended from the remains of the ancient Gubres, or worshippers of fire: most of the country merchants, as well as the menial servants of the island, are of this faith. They are very rich, and have in their hands the management of all mercantile affairs. Their religion, as far as I could gain any information, is much corrupted from the ancient worship; they acknowledge that several Hindoo forms and ceremonies have crept in amongst them, probably in compliance to the natives, in order to conciliate their affections. I have heard it observed, however, that the Hindoo religion does, in itself, bear some analogy to the ancient Persian worship: it seems their sacred book, the Zend, which is said to have been written by their celebrated prophet Zerdusht (called by us Zoroaster), is at present only a copy of a few centuries; which must, of course, invalidate its authenticity; as that prophet, according to the Persian historians, lived more than three thousand years ago; and indeed it is an indisputable fact, that what religious books were in being at the time of the Grecian conquests of that country, were carefully collected and burnt, by the express orders of Alexander, and were totally destroyed at the subsequent conquests of that country by the Saracens: at which period also happened the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. By these means their religion and language underwent a total change, the very traces of both which have long since disappeared, as is evident by the many fruitless efforts made to decypher those inscriptions still discernible on the walls of Persepolis, bearing not the least analogy to any character now existing. Hence it may be inferred, that what is now given as the ancient character and language of this celebrated people, is no more than an invention of a later date, and there remains not a probability that their real Zend will ever be known. The island of Bombay is about eight miles in length, and twenty in circumference: the most remarkable natural curiosity the island produces is a small fish; this fish, according to the description of a gentleman who has seen it, and from whom I received my information, is in form somewhat like a muscle, about four inches long, and has upon the top of its back, and near the head, a small valve, on the opening of which you discover a liquor of a strong purple colour, which, when dropped on a piece of cloth, retains the hue. It is found chiefly in the months of September and October; and it is observed the female fish has not this valve, which distinguishes the sexes. It is not improbable to suppose that this fish is of the same nature as the ancient Murex or shell fish, by which the Romans attained the art of dyeing to such perfection; and is similar to that found formerly on the coasts of Tyre. The Company's forces at this Presidency consist of eight battalions of sepoys, a regiment of European infantry, and a corps of European artillery and engineers. During the late long and very severe war, the Bombay troops have distinguished themselves in a peculiar manner, and the campaign of Bedanore, and the sieges of Tellicherry and Mangalore, will long remain testimonials of high military abilities, as well as of their bravery and patience under severe duty. The breed of sheep on this island is very indifferent, and all the necessaries of life are much dearer than in any other part of India. A work on this island is worthy of observation; it is a causeway on the southern part, about a mile in length, and forty feet in breadth, eight of which on each side are of solid stone; the remainder in the centre is filled up with earth, a cement of clay, and other materials; the whole forming such a body as will endure for many ages. This work keeps up the communication with the other parts of the island during the season of the Monsoon, which would otherwise overflow it, and cause infinite damage.

Dec. 13th, after being detained seven months at this island, for want of a passage, I at length embarked on board an Arabian ship, bound for Buffora, in company with  
 Captain



Captain Mitchell and Lieuts. James and Curry, of the Madras military establishment, who were on their way to Europe over land. We had on board an exact epitome of Asia, being a collection of Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Jews, Greeks, and Indians, who created as much confusion of tongues as at the building of the tower of Babel. On the 24th, in the evening, we saw Cape Rosalgate; and on the 1st of January, 1787, came to anchor in the harbour of Muscat. The entrance into this harbour is truly picturesque; it has a bold shore, with a range of high mountains extending about sixty miles in length from Cape Rosalgate (which is opposite the Scindian Gulph), to Muscat, and forms a very grand natural prospect: the ruggedness of the rocks marking very characteristically the country of Arabia. The inner harbour is guarded by two forts, very indifferently situated. Muscat itself is a place of considerable trade, as well with the Arabian and Persian Gulphs, as with Surat, Bombay, and the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The town, as is usual in most Eastern countries, is badly built, and the streets very narrow; they have, however, a good and well furnished bazar, roofed at the top; the streets cross each other at right angles, and to each is allotted its particular merchandise for sale. Muscat lies in lat.  $23^{\circ} 15' N.$  opposite to the Gulph of Ormuz, and is governed by an Imaun, or independent prince, over the province of Oman, of which Muscat is the capital. This province of Oman is a part of Yemen, or Arabia Felix; the Imaun resides at a distance of two days journey inland, where he lives in splendour; his Vakeel Sheick Khulfaun received us with great civility. The whole country round this place is one continued solid rock, without a blade of grass, or any kind of verdure to be seen; but this barrenness the natives affirm to be amply recompensed by the fertility and beauty of the inland country; as indeed it ought to be. The reflection of the sun from these rocks must necessarily cause intense and almost insupportable heats, which during the summer season are so great, that all the natives, who are able, retire inland as soon as they commence; this, added to the fatal effects of the small-pox, for which they have no cure, being ignorant of the application of medicine, causes the people in general to be afflicted with disorders in their eyes; so much so, that you scarcely meet one person out of three, who has not visibly suffered from either of the causes above mentioned. Several Gentoo merchants reside here, for the convenience of trade; also a broker on the behalf of the English East India Company; but the government will not admit (though often urged to it) of any European factory being established. The police in Muscat is excellent. On the 25th of January, Captain James Mitchell, our fellow-passenger, died, to the great grief of us all: we interred him the same day, on shore, at Muscat; a Dutch ship lying in the harbour, commanded by Captain Stewart, saluted the corpse on going on shore with nine guns, as did also an English snow, there at the same time. His funeral was as decently conducted as circumstances would admit, and every attention possible was paid to his remains. On the 26th we sailed for Bussora. On the 4th of February, we also lost Lieutenant Thomas James, another of our companions; whose body we committed to the deep. Shortly after, Mr. Curry and myself, who were the only two remaining, fell sick of violent fevers, which lasted near a month, and reduced us so much, that we had reason to expect the same fate. On the 28th of February, arrived at Abu Shehr. Lieutenant Curry and myself went on shore, where we were received by Mr. Galley, the Company's resident at that place.

*Abu Shehr.*] Abu Shehr is a small sea-port town on the coast of Persia, and is under the government of a Sheick, who is tributary to Shirauz. The English East India Company have a factory here, but I believe little business is carried on, owing to the ruinous state of Persia; caravans come frequently to this place from Shirauz, and



bring the commodities of that city, which are exported to different parts of India. On the 9th of March, my good friend, Lieutenant Curry, quitted me, and proceeded to Buffora: our parting was painful to us, as we had lately experienced many trying scenes together, which cemented our friendship; but our separate destinations made it necessary. An opportunity offering shortly afterwards of proceeding to Shirauz, I eagerly embraced it, although not yet quite recovered from my fever, and accordingly determined to set out with a *cafila* or caravan, just then on the point of departure.

Set out for *Shirauz*.] On the 15th of March, I left Abu Shehr: our *cafila* consisted of about thirty mules, and twenty or thirty horses; these and camels being the only mode of travelling made use of in this country. Our first day's march was about four *fursengs*, or sixteen English miles; the road at setting out lay over a barren plain, but the latter part of the way coming to some verdure, we halted at a place called Checanduck. The Persian *furseng* is the *παρασανγυα* *Parasanga* of the Greeks, and is equal in measurement to nearly four English miles. The 16th, we travelled four *fursengs*, the most part in the night, and arrived about eight o'clock in the morning, near Berazgoon, a considerable and populous village, surrounded by a brick wall, and flanked with turrets, under the dominion, and dependent of Shirauz. Halted that day and the next, for the purpose of shoeing the horses and mules belonging to the *cafila*, preparatory to our ascending the mountains, which we were now approaching. 18th. Moved at four in the morning, and about eight encamped near the village of Dowlakie, distance three *fursengs*. 19th. Moved at four in the morning, and a little after six entered the narrow pass which is the road to the four mountains, and is exceedingly difficult, from the great number of loose stones. At nine encamped at some distance on the other side of the village of Dowlakie, at the foot of the first mountain. We reckoned this day's journey three *fursengs*. The heat of these three last days was excessive; but they told me it would soon be changed to a piercing cold. 20th. Marched at four in the morning, and began to ascend the first mountain, which is very high, and the road almost impassable, from the vast number of large loose stones that had fallen down on each side in the way: near two miles of the latter part of the ascent is almost perpendicular, and so very narrow as only to admit of one person or beast of burden passing at a time: the scene was truly disagreeable and even dangerous, from the steep precipices, and frequent slipping and falling of the horses and mules; our only means of safety on one side depending on a small parapet wall, about three feet high; on the other the mountain towering up into the clouds strikes the beholder with an awful dread; a broad and rapid river runs at the bottom, which by its roaring adds to the terrific grandeur of the scene. Having at length attained the summit, we were surprised by the appearance of a level extensive plain; whereas, after climbing such a height, we might naturally have expected a descent. This plain is about four *fursengs*, or sixteen miles, in extent; it is situated between the mountains, and abounds in game, particularly the red-legged partridge, which we saw in great abundance. A little after nine we encamped at the village of Khisht; we here began to experience a sensible alteration in the weather. At Dowlakie, in the valley below, we were almost scorched to death with heat; whereas the air on the top of this mountain, and the plain of Khisht, is very sharp and piercing, distance three *fursengs*. 21st. Being the Persian festival of the *Nooroze*, or New Year's Day, we halted. In the ancient times of Persia this day used to be celebrated with great joy and festivity throughout the empire, and has since been kept as such under the Mahomedan government. The people of the *cafila* made themselves as merry as their circumstances would admit of; and although in general the food of these people is no more



more than a few dates and butter-milk, yet on this occasion the Cheharwadar, or master of the *cafila*, sent to the neighbouring village, and procured some mutton, which he gave to his men, and partook with them of a comfortable pilau. 22d. Moved at four in the morning; about six ascended the second mountain, which is still higher than the former, but the road not so dangerous: we arrived, about nine, at the village of Comarige: at this place the *Rah Dar*, or toll-gatherer, demanded one *toman* (about thirteen rupees), as a toll, although the custom for every passenger, whether European, Jew, or Armenian, is only one *piastre*, which is equal to one rupee. He alleged that I was a *Feringy* (Christian), and therefore ought to pay more: as I had no resource, I should have been obliged to comply, had not the master of the *cafila* opposed the imposition, and threatened to complain on our arrival at Shirauz; on which the toll-gatherer desisted. This day we travelled three *fursengs*. 23d. Moved at four in the morning; about nine arrived at the city of Kazeroon, distance five *fursengs*. 24th. Proceeded at five, and at half past eight arrived at the foot of the third mountain, situated on the confine of the plain, where the city of Kazeroon is built; distance three *fursengs*. 25th. Moved at four in the morning, and began to ascend the third mountain, which although not so high and steep as the two former, yet is sufficiently so to make the ascent uneasy and difficult; a great part of the road on one side is made of masons' work entirely, the materials hewn out of the mountain: it has a parapet wall of about three feet high, like the former: its ascent is winding. About eight o'clock we arrived in a most delightful valley, by an easy and gentle descent; entirely covered with a species of the oak and birch, which being situated between two high mountains, is extremely pleasant; the air began now to be piercing cold, and we perceived the snow lying very thick on the mountain before us, which we were to pass the next day; proceeded on through the valley, and encamped about nine o'clock at the foot of the fourth and last mountain, in our journey to Shirauz; distance travelled this day three *fursengs*. 26th. Marched at two in the morning, and began to ascend the mountain, which the Persians call the *Peera Zun*, or the old woman, by way of distinction. This is higher than all the former, and near twelve miles in length; we were near five hours in gaining the summit, when a prospect opened to our sight, scarcely to be equalled in beauty, nor can imagination well conceive a more delightful one; although we beheld it whilst the ruggedness of winter was not yet well worn off, still the great quantity of wood on its side denoted it to be a most delightful place for a summer residence; the view from the top is most strikingly romantic, the three preceding mountains seeming beneath your feet; the summit is covered with snow, and in many places where the rain had fallen, was ice of considerable thickness. Below, on each side, we beheld the vallies all opening to the beauties of spring, well watered by running streams, the great lake on the plain of Kazeroon appearing in its full extent. I cannot but confess, that the fatigues of the former part of the way were amply made up by the delightfulness of this prospect, the sharp clear air giving an increase of cheerfulness and hilarity to my spirits. By a steep descent we gained the plain below in about half an hour, and at nine o'clock encamped near the village of Desterjin. This day we travelled four *fursengs* and a half. 27th. Moved at four in the morning; at a little after eight, arrived at the village of Khoon Zineoon: near this village runs a very pleasant river, which extends to Shirauz. Mr. Niebuhr has laid this down as the *Rodheuna*, probably from the people who gave him his information, calling it *Rood Khoona*, as that name in Persian implies a stream, or river; the natives of the place mentioning it by the appellation of *Rood Khoona Zineoon*, or the river of Zineoon. 28th. Moved off at four, and at half-past nine arrived at a caravanserai in ruins, near the village of Chinar Rehadar.

Rehadar. This day we travelled four fursengs. 29th. Moved a little after five, and at nine arrived in safety, by the blessing of God, at the city of Shirauz, the place of my destination, four fursengs.

*Shirauz.*] Shirauz, the capital of Farfistàn, or Persia Proper, is situated in a valley of great extent and surprising fertility; this valley is twenty-six miles in length, and twelve in breadth, and is surrounded on all sides by very high mountains: it lies, according to Mr. Niebuhr, in  $29^{\circ} 30' 31''$ , about a hundred and ninety-six miles to the North-east of Abu Shehr. The purity of the air of this place has at all times been celebrated, and with great justice. The city in circumference is one furseng and sixty measured paces; the fortifications, considering the country, are tolerably good; a wall extends quite round the city, five-and-twenty feet high, and ten thick, with round towers at the distance of eighty paces from each other. Shirauz has a most excellent dry ditch around it, the work of the late Vakeel Kerim Khan; it is sixty feet in depth, and twenty in breadth, and would alone, exclusive of the other works, enable the city to hold out a long time against any power in Persia, where artillery is but little known, and less used. The city of Shirauz has six gates, of which the following are the names: 1st. Derwaza Bâg Shâh; 2d. Derwaza Shah Meerza Hamza; 3d. Derwaza Sadi, so called from its leading to the tomb of that celebrated poet; 4th. Derwaza Cussub Khâna, adjoining to the flesh-market; 5th. Derwaza Shadaïe; 6th. Derwaza Kazeroon, leading to that city. Each of these gates has an appointed guard allotted to it, of one hundred men; and four Khans or officers, who every morning and evening attend at the citadel in order to pay their compliments to the Khan, or in his absence to the Beglerbeg. It is the duty of these guards to prevent all persons departing from the city who have not permission so to do; and if any person, obnoxious to government, escapes, the officer's head answers for it. I was frequently stopped by them in going out, before I obtained an order from the government to have free egress and regress whenever I pleased. The gates of the city are shut at sunset, and opened at sunrise, during which periods no person is permitted to pass in or out.

Within the city, at the upper end, nearest to the gate of Bâg Shâh, stands the Citadel, which is built of burnt brick, and is a square of eighty yards circumference, flanked with round towers, and encompassed with a dry fosse of the same breadth and depth as that of the city; this is called by the Persians the Ark, and is also the work of Kerim Khan; here Jaâfar Khan, the present possessor of Shirauz, resides; it also serves occasionally as a state prison. At the door of the Ark is a painting, done in very lively colours, representing the combat between the celebrated Persian hero Rostum, and Deeb Sifeed, or the White Demon. The story is taken from Ferdousi's Shah Nama, and the figures are at full length, but ill proportioned. Opposite to the citadel, in a large handsome square, is a gallery where the Khan's music, consisting of trumpets, kettle drums, and other instruments, plays regularly at sunrise and sunset. When the Khan is in camp, or on a journey, these are always placed in a tent near him: one side of this square leads to the Dewân Khân, or chamber of audience, and the other opens into a street which leads up to the great mosque. The Dewân Khâna is a very handsome building, situated at the upper end of a large garden, to which you are conducted through an avenue, planted on each side with the Persian Chinar tree, a species of the sycamore. This chamber is a large building, of an oblong form, with an open front; the inside, about one-third up the wall, is lined with white marble from Tauris, and the ceiling and other parts are ornamented with a beautiful gold enamelled work, in imitation of the lapis lazuli: there are several pictures in it;



two of which, representing the late Vakeel Kerim Khan, and his eldest son Abul Futtah Khan, are tolerably well executed; and I was told by the natives that they were good resemblances. In front there are three handsome fountains, with stone basins, which are constantly playing. In the great square before the Citadel is the Tope Khàna, or park of artillery: it consists of several pieces of cannon mounted on bad carriages, most of the guns (which are Spanish and Portuguese, excepting two English twenty-four pounders) are so dreadfully honeycombed, that they would certainly burst on the first discharge.

Shirauz has many good bazars and caravanserais: that distinguished by the appellation of the Vakeel's bazar (so called from its being built by Kerim Khan), is by far the handsomest; it is a long street, extending about a quarter of a mile, built entirely of brick, and roofed something in the style of the piazzas in Covent Garden; it is lofty and well made; on each side are the shops of the tradesmen, merchants, and others, in which are exposed for sale a variety of goods of all kinds: these shops are the property of the Khan, and are rented to the merchants at a very easy monthly rate. Leading out of this bazar is a spacious caravanserai, of an octagon form, built of brick; the entrance through a handsome arched gate-way: in the centre is a place for the baggage and merchandise, and on the sides above and below commodious apartments for the merchants and travellers; these are also rented at a moderate monthly sum. About the centre of the above-mentioned bazar is another spacious caravanserai, of a square form, the front of which is ornamented with a blue and white enamelled work, in order to represent China-ware, and has a pleasing effect to the eye. This building is larger than the former, and is chiefly resorted to by Armenian and other Christian merchants; there are besides separate bazars in Shirauz, for the different companies of artificers, such as goldsmiths, workers of tin, dyers, carpenters, joiners, hatters, and shoemakers; these consist of long streets, built very regularly, and roofed.

The Jews at Shirauz have a quarter of the city allotted to themselves, for which they pay a considerable tax to government, and are obliged to make frequent presents: these people are more odious to the Persians than those of any other faith; and every opportunity is taken to oppress and extort money from them; the very boys in the street being accustomed to beat and insult them, of which treatment they dare not complain. The Indians have a caravanserai allowed them in another quarter of the city, for which they are also under contribution. There is a mint at Shirauz where money is coined in the name of Jaafar Khan, the present possessor, the process of which is very simple, like most in other places of the East, the gold or silver being laid in a dye fitted for the purpose, and struck with a large hammer, which completes the operation. Here also the public Seràfs (or money-changers) set and regulate the exchange of gold and silver.

*Mosques, &c.*] Shirauz is adorned with many fine mosques, particularly that built by the late Kerim Khan, which is a noble one: being very well disguised in my Persian dress, I had an opportunity of entering the building unobserved; it is of a square form; in the centre is a stone reservoir of water, made for performing the necessary ablutions or washings, previous to prayer; on the four sides of the building are arched apartments allotted for devotions, some of the fronts of which are covered with China tiles; but Kerim Khan dying before the work was completed, the remainder has been made up with a blue and white enamelled work of the kind before described. Within the apartments, on the walls, on each side, are engraved various sentences from the Koran, in the Nuskhi character; and at the upper end of the square is a large dome,

with a cupola at top, which is the particular place appropriated for the devotion of the Vakeel; this is lined throughout with white marble, ornamented with the curious blue and gold artificial lapis lazuli, and has three large silver lamps suspended from the roof of the dome: here mullahs or priests are constantly employed in reading the Koran. This mosque has very good detached apartments, with places for ablutions and other religious ceremonies: at a little distance, on the outside, the late Vakeel had laid the foundation for a range of very handsome buildings, which he designed to have been occupied by mullahs, dervishes, and other religious men; but, dying before the work was brought to perfection, the troubles in Persia since that period have prevented any other persons from finishing them, and in this imperfect state they remain at present, much to be regretted; as it would have added greatly to the beauty of the whole. In the centre of the city is another mosque, which the Persians call the Musjidí Noò, or the new mosque; but its date is nearly coeval with the city itself, at least since it has been inhabited by Mahomedans: it is a square building of a noble size, and has apartments for prayer on each side; in them are many inscriptions in the old-Cufick character, which of themselves denote the antiquity of the place; in the centre of the square is a large terrace, on which the Persians perform their devotions, both morning and evening; this terrace is capable of containing upwards of two hundred persons, and is built of stone, raised two feet and a half high from the ground; there are here two very large cypress trees of an extraordinary height, which the Persians affirm to have stood the amazing length of six hundred years: they are called Aàshuk Maàshùka, or the lover and his mistress, and are held by the people in great veneration. The mosque has a garden adjoining to it, and places necessary for performing ablutions. In another quarter of the city is a square building of a very large size, formerly a college of considerable note, where the arts and sciences were taught; and is the same as that mentioned by Sir John Chardin, who visited this city in the last century. It is now, however, decaying very fast, but there are still mullahs and religious men residing in it; at present it goes by the name of Mùdrussa Khan, or the Khan's college; but literature and the sciences have long since been neglected at Shirauz, and the present situation of the country does not seem to promise a speedy revival.

There are places in Shirauz distinguished by the name of Zoòr Khàna, the house of strength or exercise, to which the Persians resort for the sake of exercising themselves. These houses consist of one room, with the floor sunk about two feet below the surface of the earth, and the light and air are admitted to the apartment by means of several small perforated apertures made in the dome. In the centre is a large square terrace of earth, well beaten down, smooth, and even; and on each side are small alcoves raised about two feet above the terrace, where the musicians and spectators are seated. When all the competitors are assembled, which is on every Friday morning by day-break, they immediately strip themselves to the waist; on which each man puts on a pair of thick woollen drawers, and takes in his hands two wooden clubs of about a foot and a half in length, and cut in the shape of a pear; these they rest upon each shoulder, and the music striking up, they move them backwards and forwards with great agility, stamping with their feet at the same time, and straining every nerve, till they produce a very profuse perspiration. After continuing this exercise about half an hour, the master of the house, who is always one of them, and is distinguished by the appellation of Pehlwaùn, or wrestler, makes a signal, upon which they all leave off, quit their clubs, and, joining hands in a circle, begin to move their feet very briskly in union with the music, which is all the while playing a lively tune. Having continued this for a considerable time, they commence wrestling; but before the trial of skill



skill in this art begins, the master of the house addresses the company in a particular speech, in part of which he informs the candidates, that as they are all met in good fellowship, so ought they to depart, and that in the contest they are about entering into, they should have no malice or ill-will in their hearts; it being only an honourable emulation, and trial of strength, in which they are going to exert themselves, and not a contentious brawl; he therefore cautions them to proceed in good humour and concord. This speech is loudly applauded by the whole assembly. The wrestlers then turn to their diversion, in which the master of the house is always the challenger; and, being accustomed to the exercise, generally proves conqueror, by throwing each of the company two or three times successively. I have sometimes, however, seen him meet with his equal, especially when beginning to grow fatigued. The spectators pay each a Shahee, in money, equal to three-pence English, for which they are refreshed during the diversion with a calean and coffee. This mode of exercise, I should suppose, must contribute to health, as well as add strength, vigour, and a manly appearance to the frame. It struck me, in its manner of execution, to bear some resemblance to the gymnastic exercises of the ancients.

*The Baths.*] The baths in Persia are very commodious, and well worthy the attention of a stranger; they generally consist of two large apartments, one of which furnishes an accommodation for undressing, the other is the bath; on the sides of the first are benches of stone, raised two feet from the ground, on which are spread mats and carpets, where the bathers sit to undress, and from thence they proceed to the bath through a long narrow passage. The bath is a large room of an octagon form, with a cupola at top, through which the light and air are admitted; on the sides of this room are small platforms of wood raised about a foot from the ground, on which the people who enter to bathe perform their devotions, a ceremony the Persians always previously observe: at the upper end of the room is a large basin or reservoir of water, built of stone, well heated by means of stoves made at the bottom, with iron gratings over them; and adjoining is another reservoir of cold water, of either of which the bather has his choice. When he comes out of the hot bath, which is generally in the space of ten or twelve minutes, the people of the house stand ready to perform the operation of rubbing, and to effect this he is laid at full length on his back, with a pillow to support his head; a brush made of camel's hair is then used, which completely rubs off all the dirt the body has contracted. After rubbing some time, they rinse the whole body with several basins of warm water, and the person is reconducted to the dressing apartment, where he shifts and dresses at leisure, receiving a calean to smoke. The Persians are much more scrupulous than any other Eastern nation in permitting foreigners to go into their baths, which if attempted with their knowledge, they prevent. By means however of a small present, and on account of my living in a Persian family, and going privately at night, I had always free access; although Mr. Jones, a gentleman of the Buffora factory, then residing at Shirauz, going one night, after he was undressed, was informed by the keeper of the house, who understood he was an European, that he must dress himself immediately, and quit the place; alleging in excuse, that if it was known he had admitted a Feringy, he should lose both his custom and reputation, as the bath would thereby be deemed polluted. This is very remarkable, as I am informed that in Turkey it is quite the contrary, foreigners of all denominations being there allowed to use any of the baths whenever their inclinations lead them.

*The Gul Reàzee, or scattering of Roses.*] During the spring, the baths in Persia are decorated in great finery, a custom distinguished by the natives under the name of

Gul Reàzee (or the scattering of roses), from the vast quantity of those flowers strewed in the apartments ; this ceremony continues a week or ten days, during which time the guests are entertained with music, dancing, coffee, sherbet, &c. and the dressing apartment is decked out with paintings, looking-glasses, streamers, and other ornaments, at the expence of the master of the hùmaùm, who compliments his customers on the occasion, though a small present is generally made by them to the musicians. The baths are used alternately by men and women every other day, but each sex generally use them but once a week, or in every ten days at farthest.

The bath built by Kerim Khàn is particularly beautiful ; it has for the outer apartment a large handsome octagon, to which light is conveyed from the top ; on the sides are platforms of stone, raised three feet from the ground, each of which has a square reservoir of water, and a large fountain, which, by constantly playing in the centre of the room, renders the place very cool and agreeable ; the sides are adorned with pictures and tapestry ; the inner apartment is lined throughout with Tauris marble, and the dome and sides ornamented with the imitation of the lapis lazuli. To this bath none are admitted but those of a higher rank, it being chiefly used by the principal Khàns, or officers of the army, and their families.

*Shàh Cheraùg.*] In the centre of the city, adjoining to the mosque called Musjidi Nodè aforementioned, is a building of a very large size, which is called by the Persians the Shàh Cheraùg, or the king's lamp, and is considered as a place of the greatest sanctity about Shirauz, being the mausoleum of the brother of one of their Imaums, or heads of the faith ; this place is of considerable antiquity, nor is the exact date of its foundation ascertained ; but by an extract I procured from the chronicles of the place, it appears to have been repaired by the celebrated Prince Azzud ad Dowlàh Deilemee, of the family of Buyàh, who was Ameer al Umrah to one of the Caliphs of the house of Abbàs, and was a Prince of great abilities, learning, and piety. He reigned in the fourth century of the Mahomedan Hijra.

Having with great difficulty procured an extract from the chronicles of the place, which are kept in the mosque, I shall here insert a translation of them ; and it will appear by this extract, that the building was formerly magnificent, but is now going to ruin. The last person who repaired it was Kerim Khàn, who gave it a complete new covering, but since his time it has been neglected, and has suffered much by the rain and other accidents, owing to the very great age of the building ; however, there are at present some of the Imaùms Zàdas, or descendants from their Imaùms, residing in it, who are supported by what little remains of the former ample revenues of the place.

*Extract from the Aásar Abumudì, or Chronicles of the Shàh Cheraùg, the Sepulchre of Abumud Ibn Moùsa.*

■ It is related, from the register of most respectable chronicles, that in the days of Sultaùn Azzud ad Dowlah Deilemee, it was thus revealed to that Prince in ■ dream, that Meer Mahummed (the son of the religious, chief of the tribe of the worshippers of God, the most learned of the holy orators, and prime head of the expounders of the Koràn), as also Ahumud Ibn Afeef ad Deen Kubeèr (chief of the speakers of truth, and of those who praise the Deity), two persons, who from purity of heart had become the servants and guardians of this holy monument and most sanctified tomb, there resting from their labours, are interred. The Sultaun, therefore, was enjoined to go to their immediate descendants, that is to say, Sheik Afeef ad Deen Sàni and Peer Shems ad Deen, who are both now alive, and that he should by their means be pointed



out the sacred tomb, and from them receive instructions for the rebuilding and beautifying the edifice; and as formerly in the days of Sufoot ad Deen, Musauood, Ibn Bedr ad Deen, this holy tomb, as well as that of Seiud Meer Mohammed Abudeen Moufa Ibn Jaafar (upon whom be peace!), and also that of Seiud Allah ad Deen Houssein Ibn Moufa Kafim (the blessing of God be upon them!), had been re-built and beautified; so Ameer Sultaun Azzud ad Dowlah Deillemee, who is the slave of the posterity of Ali, having been pointed out these things in a dream, set forwards towards the holy place; and as this had been revealed to him, so it had also been revealed to the domestics of the sacred sepulchre of Sheick Afeef ad Deen Sani and Peer Shems ad Deen: they, therefore, when the Sultaun arrived, informed him of what they had beheld; and he, agreeably to the command, came to the holy sepulchre, and ordered it to be opened; which being done, it appeared by measurement that this tomb was fifteen yards in length, and ten yards in breadth; and the sacred corpse was discovered to the eyes of Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla, and those who were with him, as well as to the grandfather of the author of the present work, who was on the spot. Upon the tomb they perceived a lighted candle, scented with camphire; and the body of that holy person appeared quite fresh and sweet, as if but lately interred, whilst from the blessed tomb there was emitted the scent of pure musk and ambergris, and from the top of the dome the rays of a clear and bright light were reflected around. It is further related, in the Shirauz Nama, that Atta Beg Abu Bukir, the son of Saad Zunkèè, in the year of the Hijra 446, added many apartments to this building, as also did, after him, the most illustrious lady Bebee Jani Khatoon, who was either the second or third benefactress to it. — The history further observes, that Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla, and those who were with him, perceived on the finger of the corpse a seal ring, on which was engraved the following words: 'Izzut Allà l'alla Ahumud Ibn Moufa: To God Almighty be glory! Ahumud the son of Moufa:' and, moreover, Sultaun Ameer Azzud ad Dowla drew this ring off the finger, when suddenly it became invisible to him, and was on the finger of another in company, (but God knows who!) The Shirauz Nama also relates, that at this time Sultaun Ameer Azzud ad Dowla was afflicted with a violent asthma, and the moment he entered the holy sepulchre, by virtue of that sacred body, he became perfectly cured, without the smallest trace of his disorder remaining; in acknowledgment of which great blessing, Sultaun Azzud ad Dowla determined on rebuilding and beautifying the sacred tomb; and those buildings which were to be seen in the days of Azzud ad Dowla, particularly the foundation of the present dome, the tower, the haram, and the ornaments of the sepulchre, as well as the college adjoining to the court-yard, were all done by him. He also appointed fixed salaries for the domestics of the place. The lady above mentioned, Bebee Jani Khatoon, was the sister of Sultaun Ishaac, and not only a most noble and illustrious Princess, but so devout and respectable as to be the pride and ornament of the Seljukian race: (may the mercy of God be upon her!) She it was that rebuilt the tower, and those apartments which are above the area, both above and below, as also the market-place adjoining the Meidan \*, the Nokara Khanà †, and the Ash Khanà ‡. The Fars Nama, the Nezam al Towareek, as well as the Shirauz Nama of Sheick Kuttob, and the Kitab Hizzà Beiaun, all relate that the above noble character, Bebee Jàani Khatoon, appointed fourteen parcels of arable land, with proper aqueducts for conveying water, the revenues of which were taken from the village of Meimoon, and other places in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, for the maintenance of this holy tomb: she also made a

\* A square.

† The gallery for music.

‡ The kitchen.

present of thirty volumes of the Koràn, written in letters of gold (the work of Moulana Yeheèa); and there was written on the top of them, 'May the curse of God overtake those who presume to lay hands on, or take away, these books.' She even ordained, that, excepting the guardian of the sepulchre, none should presume to look into, or meddle with the sacred volumes; nor should any have concern with the lands allotted for the support of the place, or the servants or domestics belonging to it, on any account whatever except him; which ordinations were confirmed by all succeeding Princes and great men who afterwards became benefactors to the tomb. It is further recorded, that Meer Hubeeb Allàh, the flower of religious and holy men, and chief of the race of the Seiùds (descendants of Mahomed), the most wise, the most learned, and the most exalted of his age, the disposer of benefices, and the performer of good actions, who, in the reign of Shâh Tehâmasp al Hussen al Hofsèèni Behâder Khân (whose habitation now is paradise), was chief magistrate of the province of Fars, and guardian of the holy sepulchre, which he held by right of inheritance from his ancestors, who in regular succession had enjoyed the office of Vizier in Persia and guardian of this tomb, and voluntarily gave up all they possessed in support of it; for this reason, therefore, Meer Hubeeb Allàh resolved on re-beautifying the building, in consequence of which the tower and the apartments, both above and below, as well as the body of the edifice, were by him adorned in the most elegant manner, with curious gold enamelled work, in imitation of lapis lazuli, and other costly materials, as well within the building as in the outer courts and offices; and excepting the tomb of that illustrious Prince and Imaum, Abul Hussen Ahi, Ibn Mòusa al Reza, the chief of the Imaums, (the blessing of God be upon him!) who was brother to this Imaum, there was nothing in the four quarters of the world could equal it, for the quantity of ground allotted for its support, the ample salaries of the readers of the Koràn, or for the expences of the Ash Khana, the Nokàra Khanà, the Muezzins \*, its ornaments and buildings, all of which were renewed by this Meer Hubeeb Allàh; no mortal ever beholding its equal in beauty, magnificence, and splendor."

The above is as literal a translation as the language would admit of, which is very obscure and difficult in the original.

*The Tomb of Hafiz.*] The tomb of the celebrated and deservedly admired Hafiz, one of the most famous of the Persian poets, stands about two miles distant from the city walls, on the north-east side, and nearest the gate of Shâh Meerzâ Hamzâ. Here the late Vakeel Kerim Khân has erected a most elegant ivàn or hall, with apartments adjoining: this building is executed in the same style as the Dewan Khàna, nor has any cost been spared to render it agreeable: it stands in the middle of a large garden; in front of the apartments is a stone reservoir, in the centre of which is a fountain. In the garden are many cypress-trees of extraordinary size and beauty, as well as of great antiquity: I take them to be the same as those described by Sir John Chardin. Under the shade of these trees is the tomb of the poet Mahòmed Shems ad Deen Hàfiz, of fine white marble from Tauris, eight feet in length and four in breadth: this was built by order of Kerim Khan, and covers the original one: on the top and sides of the tomb are select pieces from the poet's own works, most beautifully cut in the Persian Nuftàleek character. During the spring and summer seasons, the inhabitants visit here, and amuse themselves with smoking, playing at chess, and other games, reading also the works of Hafiz, who is in greater esteem with them than any other of their poets; and they venerate him almost to adoration, never speaking of him but in the highest

\* Criers for the purpose of calling the people to prayers.



terms of rapture and enthusiasm : a most elegant copy of his works is kept upon the tomb for the purpose, and the inspection of all who go there. The principal youth of the city assemble here, and shew every possible mark of respect for their favourite poet, making plentiful libations of the delicious wine of Shirauz to his memory. Close by the garden runs the stream of Roknabad, so celebrated in the works of Hafiz ; this, however, is now dwindled into a small rivulet, which takes its source from the mountains to the north-east. The water is clear and sweet, and in that respect deserves the fame it has obtained ; it is held in great estimation by modern Persians, who attribute medicinal qualities to it ; but with what justice I cannot determine.

The following couplet, from the works of the poet, may serve to illustrate the above passage :

بله ساقی می باقی که در جنت نخواهی یافت  
کنار آب رکب آباد و گلدشت معلار \*

“ Boy ! bring me the wine that remains ! for thou wilt not find in Paradise the sweet  
“ banks of our Roknabad, or the rosy bowers of Mofellây !”

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Further, he observes of Mofellây :

ساک جعفر ابارو مصلا  
عبیر امیز فی لیل شغالش \*

“ From Jaáfar Abâd to the sweet bower of Mofellây, the morning gale cometh scented  
“ with ambergris !”

HAFIZ.

*Mofellây.*] This celebrated bower of Mofellây is situated a quarter of a mile to the westward of the tomb, but is entirely in ruins, no trace or vestige remaining of that pleasantness which you are taught to expect on perusing the preceding couplet ; yet one may judge by the situation, which is really a delightful one, being lofty, that it might formerly have been agreeable. At present the country round about is rugged and barren, and now serves as a place for celebrating the Mahomedan festival of the Ide Korbân, or the ceremonies which are observed on that day, in commemoration of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, whom they call Ishmael.

*Heft.*] A little to the northward of Hafiz's tomb, is a magnificent building, called by the Persians Heft Tun, or the Seven Bodies, on account of seven Dervishes, or religious men, who coming from a great distance to reside in this country, took up their abode on the spot where the above building is erected, and there remained until they all died, each burying the other successively, until the only survivor, who was interred by the neighbours upon this spot, and in memory of which event Kerim Khan has erected a beautiful hall, with adjoining apartments : this hall is twenty-seven feet by eighteen, and forty feet high ; one third of the height of the hall is lined with white marble from Tauris, and the rest and the cieling are ornamented with blue and gold enamel : it is built on the same plan as those of Hafiz and the Dewân Khâna, and is really a noble building. It has also some tolerable paintings, executed in the Persian style, amongst which is one of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, with the angel descending ; and another of Moses, when a boy, tending the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro. Over the doors of this hall are placed portraits of the two celebrated poets Hafiz and Sâdi, done at full length : that of Hafiz habited in the old Persian dress. He is painted with a fresh rosy complexion, and a very large pair of whiskers, and in the picture appears to be about fix-and-thirty years of age ; the other, of Sheick Sâdi, is the figure

of

of a venerable old man, with a long beard turned white by age, dressed in a religious dress, with long flowing robes, in his right hand holding a small crooked iron staff, and in the other a charger of incense. Before the hall is a very handsome stone reservoir, where the Persians observe their ablutions (enjoined by the Mahomedan laws) previous to their performing their devotions near the graves of the seven Dervishes (each of which have handsome tomb-stones over them), in a spot of ground allotted for that purpose. The garden consists of two avenues of cypress trees, bounded by a high wall, and there is a fine spacious terrace on the top of this building, from whence you have an extensive view of the city of Shirauz, and the adjoining country. To this place, as well as to the tomb of Hafiz, the Persians frequently resort, and amuse themselves until evening, when they return to the city.

*Dil Gushaie.*] On a parallel line with Hest Tun, about three quarters of a mile distant, is the garden of Dil Gushaie, so called from the pleasantness of its situation, signifying in Persian, heart expanding: it is situated at the foot of a high mountain, out of which issues a stream of clear fresh water, for the reception of which there has been made a succession of stone basins, so fashioned as to make the water fall down from one to the other, after the manner of a cascade, and at about sixty paces distant from each other; these forming separate falls, have a pleasing effect to the eye. In the centre is a summer-house, built of stone, through which the water runs by means of a stone channel: in this place the Persians sit and amuse themselves, smoking and playing at games of chance, and regale themselves with what they may have brought from the city. This garden is, upon the whole, extremely agreeable, the water clear and cold, and the air delightfully mild and refreshing.

*The Tomb of Sâdi.*] A mile to the eastward of Dil Gushaie, is the tomb of the celebrated Sheick Sâdi aforementioned, situated at the foot of the mountains that bound Shirauz to the N.E. and is a large square building, at the upper end of which are two alcoves, recesses in the wall; that on the right hand is the tomb of Sheick, just in the state it was in when he was buried, built of stone, six feet in length, and two and a half in breadth: on the sides of it are engraved many sentences in the old Nuskhi character, relating to the poet and his works. Sâdi flourished about five hundred and fifty years ago, and his works are held in great esteem amongst all the Eastern nations for their morality, and for the excellent precepts they inculcate. On the top of the tomb is a covering of painted wood, black and gold, on which is an ode of the Sheick's, written in the modern Nustaleek character, and on removing this board is perceived the empty stone coffin in which the Sheick was buried. This the religious, who come here, take care to strew with flowers, rosaries, and various relics. On the top of the tomb is placed, for the inspection of all who visit there, a manuscript copy of the Sheick's works, most elegantly transcribed. On the side of the walls are many Persian verses, written by those who have at different times visited the place. The building is now going to ruin, and unless repaired must soon fall entirely to decay. It is much to be regretted, that the uncertain state of affairs in the country will not admit of any one's being at the expence of repairing it. Men who are to-day in authority and power, are, perhaps, to-morrow seized on and dragged to prison; nor can any one depend upon the fate of the ensuing day. Adjoining to this building are the graves of many religious men, who have been buried here at their own requests.

*A remarkable Channel.*] A little to the left of this building, under ground, is a very remarkable channel, to which you descend by a flight of seventy stone steps, and at the bottom are surprised at the sight of a handsome building, of an octangular form, through which the channel runs. It is built entirely of stone, which, although the work



work of many ages past, yet remains complete and perfect. This the present Persians superstitiously attribute to its having been built with what they call *Pool Helaül*, or lawful money, *i. e.* money not acquired by oppression and tyranny; for they say that such buildings as have been erected by tyrants soon moulder and fade away; whilst, on the contrary, the works of good and just princes endure for ages unhurt. They have formed these opinions by attending to the tradition of the place, which they say was built by a king of Persia named *Gemsheed*, a prince famous in the Persian history for his piety and justice, and the same who built *Persepolis*, he having first, at a vast expence and much labour, dug out a stream of water from the adjacent mountains, which was conveyed by an aqueduct to this well, from whence it flows through a stone channel formed under ground, about two feet in breadth, and supplies all the places adjoining to *Shirauz* with excellent water. The present natives attribute great virtues to the supposed properties of this water, and are fond of bathing in it. On the sides of this building are recesses and alcoves, where those who visit it sit and smoke, and find it perfectly cool and refreshing, even in the hottest day of summer. Sir John Chardin mentions a fountain near the tomb of *Sâdi*, in which, he says, were fish consecrated to the Sheick; but as there are no signs of any thing at present remaining similar to his description, I think it is probable he meant the above-mentioned channel, in which are caught abundance of very fine fish. This place, though it may not be of the date tradition mentions, yet certainly bears marks of very great antiquity; and as such is an object worthy the attention of a stranger, which induced me to insert the above description.

A quarter of a mile to the northward of the gate *Shaâh Meerza Hamzâ*, is a large octagon building, in the inside of which is the tomb of *Abdurrahèem Khân*, the second son of the late *Vakeel Kerim Khân*, who died in the 12th year of his age. This tomb is eight feet in length, and three in breadth, standing in the centre of the room, covered with a piece of brocade; it is of very fine marble from *Tauris*, elegantly gilt: on the top and sides are inscriptions in the Persian language, well cut, in the *Nustâleek* character, and the room has a beautiful dome, with the cupola and sides ornamented with blue and gold enamelled work, imitative of China-ware. The Persians excel all the Eastern nations in this kind of enamel; and what makes it so pleasing to the eye, is the brightness of the colours, which far exceed, in their liveliness, any thing that can be done in Europe; and I think are equal to those produced in China.

*Kerim Khan*, amongst other beneficial works during his lifetime, built several summer-houses in the neighbourhood of *Shirauz*. The gardens in which they are placed are laid out in an agreeable style, though quite different to our ideas of the beauties of gardening; they consist generally of long strait plantations of *sycamore* and *cypress* trees, planted regularly on each side the walk, in form of avenues, and have *parterres* of flowers in the centre, with stone fountains in different parts of the garden, which add much to the coolness and beauty of them. On the side of the walls are erected scaffoldings of wood, covered over at top with thin laths, on which the grape vines grow, and form pleasant arbours. Indeed this truly great man well deserved his good fortune, as he spent the best part of his life in adorning *Shirauz*, which he considered his chief city of residence, with every thing that could make it comfortable and agreeable to his subjects; a circumstance the Persians have been more sensible of since his death: nor is his name ever mentioned by them, especially the middling and lower class of people, but in terms expressive of the highest gratitude and esteem.

As the religion of the Persians is known to be Mahomedan, and as very good accounts have already been given of it, I shall touch but lightly on the subject; but as they are of the sect of the Sheiàs, or followers of Ali, some of their customs, as well religious as civil, may probably differ from those of the Turks, who are of the sect of the Sunnies, or followers of Omar. I shall therefore make a few remarks on what I think most worthy of observation in each of them: and first respecting their marriages.

*Marriages of the Persians.*] When the parents of a young man have determined upon marrying him, they look out amongst their kindred and acquaintance for a suitable match; in which having succeeded, the father or mother of the young man, or sometimes his sister, assemble a number of their friends, and go to the house where the person they intend to demand lives: being arrived, a conversation takes place, in which the business is opened and the match proposed. If the father of the woman is contented with the proposals, he immediately orders sweetmeats to be brought in, which is taken as a direct sign of compliance; and the company for that time take leave. Some days after, the females of the family of the man assemble at the house of the intended bride, where the terms of marriage are settled, and the usual presents on the part of the bridegroom are promised. These, if the person be in middling circumstances, generally consist of two complete suits of apparel of the best sort, a ring, a looking-glass, and a small sum in ready money of about ten or twelve tomans, which sum is denominated Mehr u Kawèèn, or the marriage-portion, it being given for the express purpose of providing for the wife in case of a divorce. There is also provided a quantity of household stuff of all sorts, such as carpets, mats, bedding, utensils for dressing victuals, &c. After this a writing or contract is drawn up, in the presence of, and witnessed by, the Cadi, or magistrate, or in his absence by an akhund, or priest: this writing the Persians call Akud Bundèè, or the binding contract, in which the father of the bride sets forth, that on such a day, in such a year, he has given his daughter in marriage to the son of such a person (mentioning the name of the bridegroom and his father), who also on his part enumerates the different presents he makes in his son's name to the bride, as well as the stipulated money called Mehr u Kawèèn. This writing is signed and sealed by both parties, as well as the Cadi and the Mullah, and is deposited in the hands of the bride's father, where it always serves as a record, in case of a divorce, to enforce the fulfilling of the marriage-articles: for on this occasion the husband is obliged to make good the contract, even to the minutest agreement, before the divorce can be complete. When this ceremony is finished, the marriage by the Mahomedan law is deemed perfect. It is, however, observable that portions are never given with daughters in Persia, as is the custom in Europe, and in most places of the East. Nothing now remains but to celebrate the wedding, and this is generally performed on the second or third day after signing the contract, in the following manner: the night before the wedding, the friends and relations of the bride assemble at her house, attended by music, dancing girls, and other signs of festivity. This night is distinguished by the appellation of Sheb Hinna Bundee, or the night in which the hands and feet of the bride are stained with the herb of hinna, well known all over the East. Previous to the ceremony, a large quantity of this herb is sent by the bridegroom to the house of the bride; and on the day of staining she is first conveyed to the bath, where having bathed, she is brought back to her own house; after which they stain her hands and feet, at the same time painting her eyebrows and forehead with antimony powder called surma: when this is finished, they send back what remains of the herb to.



to the house of the bridegroom, where the like operation is performed upon him by his friends. The wedding night being come, the friends both of the bride and bridegroom, men and women, assemble at the house of the bride, in order to carry her to that of her future husband : they are attended by all sorts of music, singers, and dancing girls, and all are dressed in their smartest apparel, each of the women having on a veil of red silk. The presents which the bridegroom has made, are all put into trays covered with red silk, which are carried on men's shoulders. After waiting at the door some time, the bride is brought forth, covered from head to foot in a veil of red silk, or painted muslin ; a horse is then presented for her to mount, which is sent thither expressly by the bridegroom ; and when she is mounted, a large looking-glass is held before her by one of the bride-maids, all the way to the house of her husband, as an admonition to her, that it is the last time she will look into a glass as a virgin, being now about to enter into the cares of the married state. The procession then sets forward in the following order : — first, the music and dancing girls ; after which the presents, in trays borne upon men's shoulders ; next come the relations and friends of the bridegroom, all shouting and making a great noise ; who are followed by the bride herself, surrounded by all her female friends and relations, one of whom leads the horse by the bridle ; and several others on horseback close the procession. Being arrived at the house of the bridegroom, they are met at the door by the father and mother, and from thence are conducted up stairs : the bride then enters the room. The bridegroom, who is at the upper end, makes a low obeisance ; and presently after, coming close up to his bride, takes her up into his arms and embraces her. Soon after they retire into a private chamber ; and, on their return to the company, it causes great rejoicings. They then all sit down to supper in separate apartments, the men eating with the bridegroom in one room, and the women with the bride in another ; it being quite contrary to custom for the women to eat in company with the men on this occasion. The wedding-supper is prolonged to a late hour in the night, with cheerfulness and festive mirth.

Rejoicings in Persia for a wedding generally continue eight or ten days. If, after marriage, a man should be discontented with his wife (which is sometimes the case in this as in other countries), he is at liberty to divorce her ; a man, by the Mahomedan law, being always enabled to put his wife away at discretion : this is performed by giving her every thing he had promised her previous to marriage, and by re-demanding the contract of his wife's relations. The ceremony of divorce is called by the Persians *Tellaak*. If again, after the divorce, the husband should be inclined to take his wife back, he is at liberty so to do, and this for three times successively ; and when it so happens, the contract must be renewed each time : but after the third time he is expressly forbidden to re-marry the same woman. I have heard a story of the woman's being obliged first to be married, then bedded, and afterwards divorced by another man, before her first husband can re-marry her ; but I never could meet with an instance of it in Persia, or ever knew of any custom of that kind prevalent in the country, although I made frequent enquiries concerning it. It seldom happens that a man, who is once divorced from his wife, is inclined to take her back again ; those who do so being in little estimation with their neighbours : and with respect to the number of wives a man has, although by the Mahomedan law he is certainly allowed as many as he is able to maintain, yet in general, amongst the Persians, that person is most esteemed who attaches himself to one.

Contracts of marriage in Persia, as well as in many other places in the East, are often made between families at a very early period ; and although consummation does

not take place till many years after, yet the woman contracted cannot divorce herself, or be absolved from the contract, unless by the consent of her betrothed husband, except on forfeiture of a considerable sum of money. The same is also binding on the part of the man.

A widow in Persia is obliged to wait four months, after the death of her husband, before she is permitted by law to marry again; but the concubine of a person deceased may go to another as soon as she pleases.

*Christenings or naming of Children in Persia.*] At the christening, or rather naming of children in Persia, the following ceremony is observed: the third or fourth day after the child is born, the friends and relations of the woman who has lain in assemble at her house, attended by music and dancing-girls, hired for the occasion; after playing and dancing some time, a Mullah, or priest, is introduced, who, taking the child in his arms, demands of the mother what name she chuses the infant should be called by; being told, he begins praying, after a short time applies his mouth close to the child's ear, and tells him distinctly three times (calling him by name) to remember and be obedient to his father and mother; to venerate his Koràn and his Prophet; to abstain from those things which are unlawful, and to practise those things which are good and virtuous. Having repeated the Mahomedan profession of faith, he then re-delivers the child to his mother; after which the company are entertained with sweetmeats and other refreshments, a part of which the females present always take care to carry away in their pockets, believing it to be the infallible means of their having offspring themselves. The ceremony of the Sunnut, or circumcision, in Persia, is generally performed during the Chehula, or space of forty days from the birth of the child; as within that period it is less dangerous than at a more advanced age. Some there are, however, who do not undergo the operation until the expiration of seven or eight years; but it is absolutely necessary that it should take place before the age of fourteen, as after that time it is deemed unlawful; on this occasion the parents of the child invite their relations and friends to an entertainment. The operation is performed after the Jewish ritual, and in the manner practised by the Mussulmans of India.

With great men this ceremony is uncommonly splendid. During my residence at Shirauz, I had an opportunity of being an eye-witness to the rejoicings made by the inhabitants in honour of the son of Jáafar Khàn, who, on the 27th of April 1787, had the ceremony performed upon him.

*Festival of the Cheraungeons.*] On the 20th, great preparations having previously been made, all the bazars in Shirauz were splendidly illuminated, particularly the grand bazar, which was adorned throughout with lustres of party-coloured lamps, suspended from the roof about half way down: the shops of the merchants on each side were dressed out in great finery, with silver paper, rich hangings, &c.; the walls on each side, to a considerable height, covered with tapestry, looking-glasses, and many paintings, done in the Persian style, most of them representing the ancient Kings of Persia and India, in the different dresses of their respective countries; as well as designs taken from their most admired poets. Bands of music, and dancing women, were constantly performing night and day, throughout the different bazars, on scaffoldings erected for the purpose; and the whole was a scene of festivity for seven days and as many nights. Among several ingenious things observable on this occasion, the sight presented at the Juba Khàna, or the Khàn's arsenal, was most worthy of notice. In the centre of this building the armourers had suspended in the air a brass mortar of 300 cwt. by some hidden means, as nothing appeared to support it, either above or below; the only visible thing being a number of coloured bottles sticking to it, as if



to keep it buoyant in the atmosphere. I was told, however, that it was effected by means of a wire passed from the roof of the place to the mouth of the mortar; but not being visible to the spectators, it gave a very ingenious effect. The decorations on this occasion cost the shop-keepers and tradesmen considerable sums, as, besides the expences of the illuminations, they were obliged to make a handsome peishcush, or present, to the Khan and his son, who also on this occasion gave a grand entertainment in the citadel, to which the principal men in the city were invited; and the whole was concluded by a magnificent display of fireworks.

*The funerals of the Persians.*] The funerals of the Persians are conducted in a similar manner to those in other Mahomedan countries. On the death of a Mussulman, the relations and friends of the deceased being assembled, make loud lamentations over the corpse; after which it is washed and laid out on a bier, and carried to the place of interment without the city walls, attended by a Mullah, or priest, who chants passages from the Koran all the way to the grave. If any Mussulman should chance to meet the corpse during the procession, he is obliged, by the precepts of his religion, to run up to the bier, and offer his assistance in carrying it to the grave, crying out at the same time, *Làh Illàh Ill Lillàh!* "There is no God but God." After interment, the relations of the deceased return home, and the women of the family make a mixture of wheat, honey, and spices, which they eat in memory of the deceased, sending a part of it to their friends and acquaintance, that they also may pay him a like honour. — This custom seems to be derived from very great antiquity, as we read in Homer of sacrifices and libations being frequently made to the memory of departed souls.

*Price of Blood.*] The Persians are very strict in respect to the price of blood, or *lex talionis*, this being laid down and authorised as a positive command in the Koran; it is called *Deiut*. At Shirauz, if a man murders another person, he is obliged to pay a *Deiut*, either in money or goods, to the value of 800 piastras, which is to be received by the relations of the deceased; but if this is not agreed to, and the relations insist upon it (the acceptance being entirely optional), the murderer is to be delivered up to the nearest of kindred to the person slain, and is by them put to death: but should it so happen that the murderer escapes, the two families are at perpetual variance, until full satisfaction be made, either by paying the price of blood, as related, or apprehending the murderer, and surrendering him, a circumstance often attended with very bloody consequences. There is yet, however, another mode of compromise, and to which, in one instance, I was an eye-witness; which is, the relations of the murderer giving in marriage a daughter, or niece, to the son of the deceased, as the price of blood; and when this is the case, the two families becoming one, the reconciliation is always complete.

*The Management of the Police at Shirauz.*] The police in Shirauz, as well as all over Persia, is very good. As before observed, at sunset the gates of city are shut; no person whatever is permitted either to come in or go out during the night; the keys of the different gates being always sent to the Hakim or governor, and remaining with him until morning. During the night, three tiblas, or drums, are beaten at three different times; the first at eight o'clock, the second at nine, and the third at half past ten. After the third tibla has sounded, all persons whatsoever found in the streets by the Daroga, or judge of the police, or by any of his people, are instantly taken up, and conveyed to a place of confinement, where they are detained until next morning, when they are carried before the Hakim; and if they cannot give a very good account of themselves, are punished, either by the bastinado, or a fine.

*Sheick al Sellaum, or the Head of the Faith.*] Civil matters are all determined by the Càzi, and ecclesiastical ones (particularly divorces) by the Sheick al Sellaum, or head of the faith; an office answering to that of Mufti in Turkey. Justice is carried on in Persia in a very summary manner; the sentence, whatever it may be, being always put into execution on the spot. Theft is generally punished with the loss of nose and ears: robbing on the road, by ripping up the belly of the criminal, in which situation he is exposed upon a gibbet in one of the most public parts of the city, and there left until he expires in torment; a dreadful punishment, but in the end extremely salutary, as the sight deters others from committing the same crime, and renders robberies in Persia very uncommon. The punishments in this country are so varied and cruel, that humanity shudders at the thought; and the happy Englishman, viewing them, blesses himself that he is born in the arms of freedom and liberty, where property is not only sacred, but justice administered with mercy!

*The Fast of Ramazàn.*] The Persians observe the fast during the month of Ramazàn (the ninth month of the Mahomedan year) with great strictness and severity. About an hour before daylight, they eat a meal which is called Sèhre, and from that time until the next evening at sunset, they neither eat nor drink of any thing whatever. It is even so very rigid, that if in the course of the day the smoke of a calean, or the smallest drop of water reaches their lips, the fast is in consequence deemed broken, and of no avail. From sunset until the next morning they are allowed to refresh themselves. This fast, when the month Ramazàn falls in the middle of summer, as it sometimes must do (the Mahomedan year being lunar), is extremely severe, especially to those who are obliged by their occupations to go about during the day-time, and is rendered still more so, as there are also several nights during its existence, which they are enjoined to spend in prayer. The Persians particularly observe two; the one being that in which their prophet Ali died, from a wound which he received from the hands of an assassin three days before; which night is the 21st of Ramazàn, the day of which is called by the natives Yedem al Kutul, or the day of murder; the other is the night of the 23d, in which they affirm that the Koràn was brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and delivered to their prophet Mahomed; wherefore it is denominated Lailut ul Kudur, or the night of power. The first of these nights the Turks and others of the sect of the Sunnies do not observe, and the latter they keep on the night of the 27th; but both nights are spent by the Persians entirely in prayer; besides which, the most religious men generally allot a part of each day in the month for the purpose of reading the Koràn. From this fast, women under particular circumstances relative to their sex, very old persons, the sick, and children under the age of fourteen, are exempted; every other person is enjoined to keep it, as absolutely necessary to salvation. Travellers also, during this month (when on actual journey), are exempted from observing the fast; but in lieu thereof are obliged, on their return home, to fast an equal number of days in another month: though the Persians say, that one day's fast in the month of Ramazàn is more acceptable to God than all the remainder of the year put together. This month, by way of eminence, is styled by the Mahomedans Al Mubarik, or the blessed: and they affirm that whatever Mussulmàn die during it, will most assuredly enter into paradise; as they believe the gates of heaven are then open by the command of God. People of a religious turn of mind begin this fast seven or eight days before Ramazàn, and some continue it as many more during the succeeding month.

*Shurwàul.*] The 1st of Ramazàn, or 1st of Shurwàul, is not observed here as in Turkey, with any particular solemnity.



*The Festival of the Ide Korbàn.*] The 23d of September, which this year happened on the 10th of the Mahomedan month Zul àl Huj, A. H. 1201, is kept in Persia as a grand festival, and was celebrated at Shirauz with extraordinary rejoicings; it is called by the Persians Ide Korbàn, or the festival of sacrifice; being the same, they say, as that in which Abraham offered up his son Isaac, whom they call Ismaël. A few days previous to its commencement, each family takes care to purchase a fine fat sheep, which they design for the sacrifice, distinguished by the name of Gosefund Korbàn, or the sheep of sacrifice; this sheep they take great care of, and he must be without spot or blemish, in order to represent the purity of Isaac. The day being come, they adorn the victim with ribbands, beads, and other finery; also staining his face, feet, and different parts of his body with the herb hinna. The neighbours reciprocally visit each other, and exchange the wish of a happy ide, or festival. Their mode of salutation is *Ide Shùmá Mubàrik bâshed!* "May your festival be fortunate!" The victim being slain, they send the different parts of him as presents to their friends and to the poor. Some, indeed, do not reserve any part for themselves; but every Mussulman is enjoined by his religion to give a part of what he kills that day to the indigent, who generally find means to make a comfortable meal. The day is spent in the utmost festivity. Among those of higher rank, the following ceremonies are observed: the Khàn, or in his absence the Beglerbeg, goes in procession to the place of sacrifice, which is without the city, and is called the Korbàn Gàh. A favourite camel, chosen for the occasion, is led forth, which is dressed out in great finery, and is considered as sacred. On their arrival at the place, the Khàn first strikes a lance into the breast of the animal, and the crowd are permitted to rush in, by which he is presently cut into a thousand pieces; and happy in their estimation is the person who can procure the least portion of him, as they look upon it a great blessing, and an infallible omen of future good fortune. The procession returns to the city, where a scaffolding is erected before the palace, and the people are entertained with rope-dancing, singers (male and female), tumblers, ram-fighting, and other diversions until evening. The Persians, on this occasion, have all of them by heart an ode made for the day, which they repeat as they walk the streets; and cheerfulness, with contentment, sits on every countenance. As I lived in a native family, I thought it proper on this occasion to make ■ present to it of a sheep for the sacrifice, by which I afforded great satisfaction; and we spent the day in high mirth. Indeed I attributed my own comfortable situation, during my residence in Persia, principally to my ready and general compliance with all their manners and customs; a practice I would advise every traveller, who wishes to live agreeably in a strange country, to observe; experiencing myself the benefit of it in so ample a manner.

*Ide Kudeèr.*] The 30th of September, being the 17th of Zu àl Hùj, is also observed here as a festival, and is called Ide Kudeèr, or the festival of fate, being, according to the Persians, the day in which their prophet Mahomet bequeathed the caliphate to Ali his son-in-law, nine days before he died; but this is denied by the Turks and others of the sect of the Sunnies, and has been the cause of much animosity and bloodshed.

*The Fruits of Shirauz.*] No place in the world produces the necessaries of life in greater abundance and perfection than Shirauz; nor is there a more delightful spot in nature to be conceived, than the vale in which it is situated, either for the salubrity of the air, or for the profusion of every thing necessary to render life comfortable and agreeable. The fields yield plenty of rice, wheat, and barley, which they generally begin to reap in the month of May, and by the middle of July the harvest is completed. Most of the European fruits are produced here, and many of them are superior in size and flavour to what can be raised in Europe, particularly the apricot and grape. Of



the grape of Shirauz there are several sorts, all of them very good, but two or three more particularly so than the rest; one is the large white grape, called Reesh Bâbâ, without seed, which is extremely luscious and agreeable to the taste; the small white grape, called Askeri, also without seed, and as sweet as sugar; the black grape, of which the celebrated wine of Shirauz is made. This wine is pressed by the Armenians and Jews, in the months of October and November, and a vast deal is exported annually to Abu Shehr, and other parts in the Persian Gulph, for the supply of the India market. The wine of Shirauz is really delicious, and well deserving of praise; so much so, that people who have drank it for a space of time seldom care for any other, though at the first taste it is rather unpleasant to an European. They have another kind of large red grape, called Sahibi, the bunches of which weigh seven or eight pounds each: it is sharp and rough to the taste, and makes vinegar of a very superior quality. The cherries here are but indifferent; but apples, pears, melons, peaches, quinces, nectarines, and the gage plums, are all very good, and in the greatest plenty. The pomegranate is good to a proverb; the Persians call it the fruit of paradise.

*Breed of Horses.*] The breed of horses in the province of Fars is at present very indifferent, owing to the ruinous state of the country; but in the province of Dushtistaân, lying to the south-west, it is remarkably good. The sheep are of a superior flavour, owing to the excellence of the pasturage in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, and are also celebrated for the fineness of their fleece: they have tails of an extraordinary size, some of which I have seen weigh upwards of thirty pounds; but those which are sold in the markets do not weigh above six or seven. Their oxen are large and strong, but their flesh is seldom eaten by the natives, who confine themselves chiefly to that of sheep and fowls. Provisions of all kinds are very cheap; and the neighbouring mountains affording an ample supply of snow throughout the year, the meanest artificer of Shirauz may have his water and fruits cooled without any expence worthy his consideration: this snow being gathered on the tops of the mountains, and brought in carts to the city, is sold in the markets. The price of provisions is regulated at Shirauz with the greatest exactness, by the Daroga, or judge of the police, who sets a fixed price upon every article, and no shop-keeper dares to demand more, under the severe penalty of losing his nose and ears; such being the punishment attached to a crime of this nature; by which means the poorest inhabitants are effectually secured from imposition, in so capital an article as the necessaries of life.

*Manufactures and Trade.*] Manufactures and trade are at present greatly decayed in Persia, the people having had no interval of peace to recover themselves since the death of Kerim Khan to the present period: but if a regular and permanent government were once again established, there is little doubt but they would flourish, as the Persians are very ingenious, of quick capacities, and even the lower class of artificers are industrious and diligent. They work in filigree and ivory remarkably well, and are good turners. They have at Shirauz a glass manufactory, where they cast very good glass, of which great quantities are exported to different parts of Persia; by which the manufacturers acquire considerable profit. Most of the woollen goods, silks, and worked linens, are brought from Yezd and Carmania, from both of which places they also export felts and carpets. A great quantity of copper is produced from Tauris, and other of the more northern parts of Persia. Kôm is remarkable for excellent sword-blades; but at present all trade with Europeans is stopped; and the state of the country does not promise a speedy return of it. India goods are imported chiefly from Abu Shehr. In matters of trade amongst the natives, the whole is under the regulation of the caloûnter, or town-clerk, who regulates the duties to be paid to the



the Khan on all imports: this is sometimes executed with a severity which leaves the merchant little or no profit upon his goods. This officer has an apartment in the grand caravanferai, where himself or his assistant resides, who is called the Goom Rook, or custom-master, and is always present on the arrival of a caravan. All goods are opened here, even to the meanest article, and a duty is exacted upon every thing foreign. This office affords a field for great knavery, which I doubt not is often practised, as I have frequently heard the merchants complain of the oppressive disposition of the present superintendant with much acrimony: this proceeding cannot, however, be presumed to have the sanction of the Khan, as it is most probable he is often defrauded without its coming to his knowledge; for a person detected in the practice of these tricks would unquestionably suffer death.

*The climate of Shirauz.*] The climate of Shirauz is one of the most agreeable in the world, the extremes of heat and cold being seldom felt. During the spring of the year the face of the country appears uncommonly beautiful. The flowers, of which they have a great variety, and of the brightest hues, the fragrant herbs, shrubs, and plants, the rose, the sweet basil, and the myrtle, all here contribute to refresh and perfume the natural mildness of the air. The nightingale of the garden (called by the Persians boolbul hezar dastaan), the goldfinch, and the linnet, by their melodious warblings, at this delightful season of the year, serve to add to the satisfaction of the mind, and to inspire it with the most pleasing ideas. The beauties of nature are here depicted in their fullest extent; the natural historian and the botanist would here meet with ample scope for pursuing their favourite investigations. With such advantages, added to the salubrity of the air, how can it be wondered at, that the inhabitants of Shirauz should so confidently assert the pre-eminence of their own city to any other in the world? or that such beauties should fail of calling forth the poetical exertions of a Hâfiz, a Sâdi, or a Jâmî? Their mornings and evenings are cool, but the middle of the day is very pleasant. In summer the thermometer seldom rises above seventy-three in the day-time, and at night it generally sinks as low as sixty-two. The autumn is the worst season of the year, that being the time when the rains begin to fall, and during the autumnal months it is considered by natives as the most unhealthy; colds, fluxes, and fevers being very general. In winter a vast deal of snow falls, and very thick, but ice is rarely to be found, except on the summits of the mountains, or towards Isphahan, and the more northern parts of Persia. One thing, which is most to be esteemed in this country, and renders it preferable to any other part of the world, is their nights, which are always clear and bright, and the dew that in most places is of so pernicious and dangerous a nature, is not of the least ill consequence here: there is none at all in summer, and in the other seasons it is of such a nature, that if the brightest scimitar should be exposed to it all the night, it would not receive the least rust; a circumstance I have myself experienced. This dryness in the air causes their buildings to last a great while, and is undoubtedly one of the principal reasons that the celebrated ruins of Persepolis have endured for so many ages, and comparatively speaking, in so perfect a state; that place being situated in much such another valley as Shirauz, and but two days' journey from thence. The nights in Persia, and more particularly in the southern parts of it are most excellently adapted for the science of astronomy, being of extraordinary brightness, and far preferable in that point to what I have observed in any country in which it has been my fortune to reside.

*Slight account of the character of the modern Persians.*] In attempting to say any thing of the character of the modern Persians; I am sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking, from my being so short a time amongst them. An acquaintance with the



real character of a people is only capable of being attained by a very long residence ; yet as, during my stay in Persia, from the situation I was placed in, by living in a native family, I had an opportunity of seeing more of the nature and disposition of the middling sort of people, and their manners and customs, than perhaps has fallen to the lot of most travellers, I am induced to give the few observations I made during that period. The Persians, with respect to outward behaviour, are certainly the Parisians of the East. Whilst a rude and insolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkish nation towards foreigners and Christians, the behaviour of the Persians would, on the contrary, do honour to the most civilized nations : they are kind, courteous, civil, and obliging to all strangers, without being guided by those religious prejudices so very prevalent in every other Mahomedan nation ; they are fond of enquiring after the manners and customs of Europe ; and, in return, very readily afford any information in respect to their own country. The practice of hospitality is with them so grand a point, that a man thinks himself highly honoured if you will enter his house and partake of what the family affords ; whereas going out of a house, without smoking a caleen, or taking any other refreshment, is deemed, in Persia, a high affront ; they say that every meal a stranger partakes with them brings a blessing upon the house : to account for this, we must understand it as a pledge of faith and protection, when we consider that the continual wars in which this country has been involved, with very little cessation, since the extinction of the Sefi family, have greatly tended to an universal depravity of disposition, and a perpetual inclination to acts of hostility. This has lessened that softness and urbanity of manners for which this nation has been at all former times so famous ; and has at the same time too much extinguished all sentiments of honour and humanity amongst those of higher rank.

The Persians, in their conversation, use such extravagant and hyperbolical compliments on the most trifling occasions, that it would at first inspire a stranger with an idea, that every inhabitant of the place was willing to lay down his life, shed his blood, or spend his money in his service ; and this mode of address (which in fact means nothing) is observed not only by those of a higher rank, but even amongst the meanest artificers, the lowest of which will make no scruple, on your arrival, of offering you the city of Shirauz and all its appurtenances, as a *peishkush* or present. This behaviour appears at first very remarkable to Europeans, but after a short time becomes equally familiar. Freedom of conversation is a thing totally unknown in Persia, as that "walls have ears" is proverbially in the mouth of every one. — The fear of chains which bind their bodies has also enslaved their minds ; and their conversation to men of superior rank to themselves is marked with signs of the most abject and slavish submission ; while, on the contrary, they are as haughty and overbearing to their inferiors. The excessive fear and awe they stand in before the great, is exemplified in a circumstance I shall mention, which happened when I accompanied Mr. Jones, of the Bussora Factory, to the Persian camp, in an audience we were admitted to with Jaafar Khan. The Khan had ordered Mr. Jones to be shewn his horses ; who having seen them, was asked which he liked the best. Mr. Jones told him (through me) that he approved very much of the stud in general, but that two horses (naming them) were entitled to more particular attention. This the man who accompanied us, and who was in the capacity of a gentleman usher, interpreted to the Khan in the following terms : — "He says that all the horses are the finest that ever were seen ; but as to the two marked out, their equal is not to be found in any part of the world." And at this answer the Khan himself seemed pleased ; no doubt from having been used to no other language from his infancy.



The Persians, in their conversation, aim much at elegance, and are perpetually repeating verses and passages from the works of their most favourite poets, Hafiz, Sâdi, and Jâmi; a practice universally prevalent, from the highest to the lowest; because those who have not the advantages of reading and writing, or the other benefits arising from education, by the help of their memories, which are very retentive, and what they learn by heart, are always ready to bear their part in conversation. They also delight much in jokes and quaint expressions, and are fond of playing upon each other; which they sometimes do with great elegance and irony. There is one thing much to be admired in their conversations, which is the strict attention they always pay to the person speaking, whom they never interrupt on any account. They are in general a personable, and in many respects a handsome, people: their complexions, saving those who are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, are as fair as Europeans.

*The women of Shirauz.*] The women at Shirauz have at all times been celebrated over those of other parts of Persia for their beauty, and not without reason. Of those whom I had the fortune to see during my residence, and who were mostly relations and friends of the family I lived in, many were tall and well shaped; but their bright and sparkling eyes were a very striking beauty: this, however, is in a great measure owing to art, as they rub their eye-brows and eye-lids with the black powder of antimony (called *furma*) which adds an incomparable brilliancy to their natural lustre. The large black eye is in most estimation among the Persians, and this is the most common at Shirauz. As the women in Mahomedan countries are, down to the meanest, covered with a veil from head to foot, a sight is never to be obtained of them in the street; but from my situation, I have seen many of them within doors, as when any came to visit the family where I lived, which many did, directed by their curiosity to see an European, understanding I belonged to the house, they made no scruple of pulling off their veils, and conversing with great inquisitiveness and familiarity, which seemed much gratified by my ready compliance with their requests, in informing them of European customs and manners, and never failed to procure me thanks, with the additional character of a good natured Feringy (the appellation by which all Europeans are distinguished). The women in Persia, as in all Mahomedan nations, after marriage, are very little better than slaves to their husbands. Those mild and familiar endearments which grace the social board of an European, and which at the same time they afford a mutual satisfaction to either sex, tend also to refine and polish manners, are totally unknown in Mahomedan countries. The husband, of a suspicious temper, and chained down by an obstinate and persevering etiquette, thinks himself affronted even by the inquiry of a friend after the health of his wife. Calling her by name, is never allowed of; the mode of address must be, "May the mother of such a son, or such a daughter, be happy; I hope she is in health." And none, except those of the nearest kin, as a brother, or uncle, are ever allowed to see the females of the family unveiled: it would be deemed as an insult. — Thrice happy ye, my fair and amiable countrywomen, who, born and educated in a land of freedom, can, without violating the laws of propriety, both give and receive the benefit of social intercourse, unimpressed by the baneful effects of jealousy! Rejoice that these blessings are afforded you! — which have inculcated the sentiments of liberality and politeness, and which still contribute to enhance the value of society, and to secure you ■ permanent and unalloyed felicity! — The Persian ladies, however, during the days of courtship, have in their turn pre-eminence; a mistress making no scruple of commanding her lover to stand all day long at the door of her father's house, repeating

verses in praise of her beauty and accomplishments; and this is the general way of making love at Shirauz; a lover rarely being admitted to a sight of his mistress, before the marriage contract is signed.

*Curious species of contention.*] The Persians, in their dispositions, are much inclined to sudden anger; quick, fiery, and very sensible of affronts, which they immediately resent on the spot. They are a brave and courageous people; but I have before said, that their frequent wars have much depraved their ancient urbanity of manners; and this ferocity of disposition has also introduced a strife, peculiar to the lower class of inhabitants of Shirauz. When two people begin fighting, it always raises a great crowd, who generally separately take the part of one or the other in the contest, and the whole presently becomes a scene of tumult and confusion, until the arrival of the dâroga, or judge of the police, who puts an end to the fray. These riots are very frequent, and even the boys are fond of running to them, in order to have a share in the contention. In their capacities they are ready, prompt, and ingenious: but these talents they too often employ in the most discreditable way, being the greatest liars in the world, practising the most improbable falsities with the gravest air imaginable; and so far from being abashed by a detection, they always endeavour to turn it off with a laugh, and even confess themselves, that they think there is no harm in telling a lye, provided it can be of any benefit to themselves: and they will always, in every business they are engaged in, endeavour first to bring it about by lying and knavery; which, if unsuccessful (as those with whom they deal are full as expert as themselves,) they will then conclude the bargain with truth and honesty; but either way is equally indifferent to them.

*The superstition of the Persians.*] The Persians universally have a fixed belief in the efficacy of charms, omens, talismans, and other superstitions. Besides what they have received since their conversion to Mahomedanism, they have in general retained all that their ancestors before practised. Indeed, the only difference is, that what was before authorised and commanded by the Magian religion, has been subsequently allowed by the religion of Mahomed. They are, of all people, the most addicted to the idea of fortunate or auspicious days and hours, the *dies fasti atque nefasti* of the Romans; and even on the minutest and most trifling occasions will seek for a lucky moment. Going a journey can never be performed without first consulting a book of omens, each chapter of which begins with a particular letter of the alphabet, which is deemed fortunate or inauspicious; and should they unluckily pitch upon one of the latter, the journey must of course be delayed until a more favourable opportunity. Entering a new house, the putting on of a new garment, with numberless other common and trifling occurrences, are determined by motions equally absurd and frivolous. In their marriages they pay the strictest attention to this point; a lucky hour for signing the contract, and another for the wedding day, being esteemed absolutely necessary to the future happiness of the intended couple. Those also who are in good circumstances, generally send for a muunjim, or astrologer, at the birth of a child, in order to calculate his horoscope with the utmost exactness.

*Their talismans.*] To a man they have their talismans, which are generally some sentence from the Koran, or saying of their prophet Ali, written either upon paper, or engraved upon a small plate of silver, which they bind round their arms, and other parts of the body; but those of higher rank make use of rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. The women of condition have small silver plates of a circular form, upon which are engraved sentences from the Koran; which, as well as the talismans, they bind about their arms with pieces of red and green silk, and look upon them.



them as never-failing charms against the fascinations of the devil, or wicked spirits (whom they call deeb), and who they say are constantly roaming about the world, to do all the mischief in their power. They are equally absurd in their ideas of the heavenly bodies, at least the middling and lower class of people, particularly in respect to the falling of the stars, eclipses of the sun and moon, and the appearances of meteors and comets. As for their religious system, they believe there are nine heavens, the lowest of which is that immediately above their heads: they imagine, therefore, that on the falling of a star, it is occasioned by the angels in the lower heaven giving blows on the heads of the devils, for attempting to penetrate into those regions. Mr. Hanway has taken notice of this circumstance in his travels; and it is the firm belief of the Persians in general, and even amongst some of those who, from their education and sense, ought to be better informed.

*Curious manner of charming the scorpions.*] Among other customs of a superstitious nature, they believe that scorpions, of which there are great numbers in this country, and very venomous, may be deprived of the power of stinging, by means of a certain prayer which they make use of. The person who has the power of binding, as it is called, turns his face towards the sign Scorpio, in the heavens, which they all know, and repeats this prayer. Every person present, at the conclusion of a sentence, claps his hands; after this is done they think that they are perfectly safe: nor, if they should chance to see any scorpions during that night, do they scruple taking hold of them, trusting to the efficacy of this fancied all-powerful charm. I have frequently seen the man in whose family I lived, repeat the above prayer, on being desired by his children to bind the scorpions; after which the whole family has gone quietly and contentedly to bed, fully persuaded they could receive no hurt by them. During the summer season, scorpions appear in great numbers; they are quite black in appearance, and very large, and the sting of them is dangerous, but not mortal: those, however, which are found in the most northern parts of Persia, and particularly in the province of Cashân, are of so dangerous a nature, as often to cause immediate death.

*Not scrupulous of drinking wine.*] The Persians are, of all Mahomedan nations, the least scrupulous of drinking wine, as many of them do it publicly, and almost all of them in private (excepting those who have performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, and men of religion): they also are very liable to be quarrelsome when inebriated, which is often attended with fatal consequences. They eat opium, but in much less quantities than the Turks; and indeed in every thing they say or do, eat or drink, they make a point to be as different from this nation as possible, whom they detest to a man, beyond measure; esteeming Jews and Christians superior to them, and much nearer to salvation. They publicly curse and abuse the three first caliphs after Mahomed, Abu Beker, Omar, and Osman, who they say were usurpers and tyrants, and unjustly deprived their prophet Ali of his right of the caliphate. It is impossible to conceive the great veneration they express for Ali, both in their books and in their conversation: they esteem him to be the most excellent and learned man that ever lived, and not inferior in good qualities to Mahomed himself, excepting in his express dignity, as a heavenly missionary. They say that Ali was the only man the world ever produced, who could converse in all languages; and that since him no one has appeared upon earth with an equal knowledge.

*Excessive respect for Ali.*] As one instance to what excess the common people carry their veneration, I shall mention a speech made use of by the cheharwadar, or master of the cafila, with whom I travelled to Shirauz: — One of his assistants making use

of the common expression, "O God! O Ali!" he immediately replied, "No, no; Ali first, God second." The title of Ameer al Moumineen, or commander of the faithful, when made use of by the Persians, is always applied to Ali; for they will not allow there having been rightfully any other. It is a common term of abuse amongst the lower class of people, when in a passion, to call their opponents the son of ■ Sunni, or follower of Omar, implying that they could not wish him a more reproachful condition. The Persians reckon the right of succession to the caliphate to consist of twelve Imaums, or heads of the faith, whom they deduce from the family of their Prophet; that is, from his daughter Fatima, whom he gave in marriage to Ali, and from thence to his two sons by that marriage, Hussun and Hussein, and their children, descendants. They, moreover, allege, that the Prophet, in his lifetime, did publicly declare that Ali and his family should succeed to the caliphate, both in spiritual and temporal matters. This, however, the Turks deny, affirming that the right of succession was from the free election of the people, and that by that right the three first caliphs took possession of the throne.

*The twelve Imaums.*] The twelve Imaums, in which the Persians esteemed the true right of the caliphate to consist, are as follow: 1st, Ali, who ought to have come immediately after Mahomed, but succeeded the fourth from him, as above mentioned. 2d, Hussun, the eldest son of Ali, put to death by the Caliph Moaweia; or, as others say, poisoned by Ayesha, the widow of Mahomet, for opposing her intrigues. 3d, Hussein, the second son of Ali, killed at Kirbelâi, in Eerâck Arabi, in the war against the Caliph Yezzed, son of Moaweia: the death of which last two persons gave rise to the annual mourning, observed so solemnly by the Persians, and others of the sect of the Sheiâs. 4th, Zein al Abudeen, the son of Hussein, put to death by Wâlid the First, the son of Abdul Meleck. 5th, Mahomed al Bawkir, the son of Zein al Abudeen, put to death by order of Hashim, the son of Abdul Meleck. 6th, Jaafar al Sadick, the son of Mahomed al Bawkir, put to death by order of Abu Jaafar Dowanikeè. 7th, Moufa Kazim, the son of Jaafar al Sadick, put to death by order of Haroon Abbasi, at Bagdad. 8th, Ali Ibn Moufa al Rezâ, put to death by order of Almâmoun Abbasi. It was in honour of this Imaum that Shâh Abbâs built the famous mosque at Mesched, and commanded his subjects to make pilgrimages thither, to prevent the carrying out the immense sums of money expended annually by those who went to Mecca in Arabia; a very wise and politic stroke, by which means he caused Persia to flourish more in his reign than it had done for a long time before, or has ever since. 9th, Mahomed al Tukee, the son of Ali Ibn Reza, put to death by order of Almamoun Abbâsi. 10th, Ali al Nukee, the son of Mahomed al Tukee, put to death at Samara, by order of Moâtizim Abbasi. 11th, Hussun Askeri, the son of Ali al Nukee, put to death by order of Moâtizim Abbasi. 12th, Mahomed al Mâhadi, the son of Hussun Askeri, who disappeared in the reign of Moâtemud Abbasi, and who the Persians expect will be again visible before the end of the world. He has the title of Huzurut Sâheb Zimaun, or lord of time, and is always mentioned by them with the highest respect. These twelve Imaums are disallowed by the Turks, and others of the sect of Omar, who say that, excepting Ali, they were all justly put to death for rebellious practices, against the governments under which they lived: but they are esteemed as saints and martyrs by the Persians, and the only true and lawful caliphs, which they confirm in the recital of their Kélema, or creed, by adding the words, "and Ali is the friend of God;" an expression which the Turks omit.

*Matters of Religion managed by Sheick al Sellaum.*] Matters of religion in Persia, as before observed, are managed by the Sheick al Sellaum, or the head of the faith, an



an office answering to that of Mufti among the Turks. He takes cognizance of all ecclesiastical matters, and on public festivals and other occasions preaches in the grand mosque; but he has not, like the Mufti, any power in affairs of state, being entirely confined to his religious office.

In point of dress, the Persians differ remarkably from the Turks; for in Turkey any person who was not a Seiüd, or descendant of the Prophet, wearing the least green upon his garment, would most probably be stoned: whereas in Persia, the general and favourite colour is green, even to their shoes; and people of all persuasions and denominations may wear it as they please. A Turk also thinks himself defiled by the touch of a Christian, even on his garments. The Persians, on the contrary, will eat out of the same plate, drink out of the same cup, and smoke out of the same calan, as readily as they would with their own children; at least I have constantly experienced this myself, during my residence in Persia, while living in a native family. The Persians, in some parts of their devotions, differ from the Turks, as they always pray with open hands; whereas those of the Turks are closed and placed before them. The Persians also, in their ablutions before prayer, wash their faces and beards with their right hand only, the other being reserved for meaner occasions, and they only slightly touch the fore and hind part of their feet; but the Turks wash with both hands, and rub all over their feet. The *jaiè numàz*, or carpet, on which they pray, is always endeavoured to be placed with the upper part of it facing to the temple of Mecca, but this they only guess at.

In religious opinions they are far more tolerant than the Turks: they acknowledge the authority of the Old and New Testament, which they say were sent from heaven, and delivered to Moses and Christ, equally with their Koran; only they affirm that the last was given to purify and correct the errors of the two former, which they pretend have been much corrupted from their original state, both by Jews and Christians. They acknowledge Jesus Christ to have been a great prophet, but deny him to have been the Son of God, and the Saviour of mankind; and pretend that their prophet Mahomed is the last or seal of the prophets, the number of which, they say, amounts to one hundred and twenty-five thousand; from which circumstance he is called *Khatim al Ambeai*, or as I have explained, the seal of the prophets. In their opinion, all nations are to be converted to Mahomedanism on the day of judgment; and on that day the people of each faith flying to their particular prophet for protection, shall by him be screened and defended from God's wrath, through mediation, and finally become all of one faith, which is to be Mahomedanism. In like manner they apply many things to their own Impostor, which only belong to our Saviour.

*Their mode of living.*] The mode of living of the Persians is in general as follows: they always rise at day-break, in order to perform their devotions. Their first prayer is denominated *numaz soobh*, or the morning prayer; it is said before sun-rise, after which they eat a slight meal, called *nàshtha*, or breakfast; this consists of grapes or any other fruits of the season, with a little bread, and cheese made of goat's milk; they afterwards drink a cup of very strong coffee, without milk or sugar; then the calan, or pipe, is introduced. The Persians, from the highest to the lowest ranks, all smoke tobacco.

Their second hour of prayer is called *numaz zòhur*, or mid-day prayer, and is always repeated when the sun declines from the meridian. Their dinner, or *chàshht*, which is soon after this prayer, consists of curds, bread, and fruits of various kinds; animal food not being usual at this meal.

The third hour of prayer is called *numaz àsur*, or the afternoon prayer, said about four o'clock.

The fourth hour of prayer is numaz shàm, or evening prayer, which is said after sun-set; when this is finished, the Persians eat their principal meal, called shàmi, or supper. This generally consists of a pilau, dressed with rich meat-sauces, and highly seasoned with various spices: sometimes they eat kibaàb, or roast meat. When the meal is ready, a servant brings notice thereof, and at the same time presents ■ ewer and water; they then wash their hands, which is an invariable custom with the Persians both before and after eating. They eat very quick, conveying their food to their mouths with their fingers; the use of knives and forks being unknown in Persia. Sherbets of different sorts are introduced, and the meal concludes with a dessert of delicious fruits. The supper being finished, the family sit in a circle, and entertain each other by relating pleasant stories (of which they are excessively fond), and also by repeating passages from the works of their most favourite poets, and amusing themselves at various kinds of games. The fifth and last prayer is styled numaz akhir, the last prayer; or sometimes numaz shèb, or the night prayer, repeated about an hour after supper.

*The great respect of the Persians for their Imaums.]* The city of Shirauz is divided into twelve districts, or neighbourhoods; over each of which one of their Imaums, or heads of faith, is believed to preside, as a kind of guardian angel. Every Thursday night, which the Persians call the night of Friday, the criers and other domestics of the mosques make a zikir, that is, a recital of the life and good actions of the Imaum, or saint, who presides over the districts, by whose influence the inhabitants hope to obtain their wishes, and be absolved from their sins. These Imaums are alluded to by the Persians in their conversations; they swear by them, and invoke them on all occasions of distress and adversity, as well as return them thanks on any good fortune befalling them. The mosques of the Imaum Zadas, or descendants from the Imaums, serve as sanctuaries for criminals; but the most sanctified place in Shirauz, and which no one ever violates, is the Shah Cheraug, of which I have made mention already, where the greatest criminal can be protected, if the inhabitants of the place should receive him. However, persons offensive to government are generally delivered up when demanded. This last-mentioned custom seems to bear a strong analogy to the mode practised in Roman Catholic countries, of the sanctuary of a church, or monastery, screening a criminal from the punishment of the law.

*An audience of Jaafar Khan.]* On the 18th of July, 1787, I accompanied Mr. Jones, second of the English factory at Bussora, to the Persian camp, where we were admitted to an audience of Jaafar Khan. On our arrival in camp, at a little after ten A.M. we were conducted to the tent of the minister, Meerza Mahomed Houssein, where we staid ■ considerable time, and were entertained with a caléan and coffee, the usual mode of treatment in Persia to visitors. The tent of the Meerza was a very handsome one, of an oblong form, with an open front, the inside lined with a fine chintz, and the walls of a curious open work; the floor was covered with a Persian carpet, and with long felts, made at Yezd, but no cushions, as the Persians never use any in public, and very seldom in private. At half an hour after twelve, an officer came to acquaint us, that the Khan was ready to receive us, and desired us at the same time to follow him. We accordingly set out, and, although the Khan's tents were in a parallel line with that of the minister, yet, agreeably to the etiquette observed in Persia, we were obliged to make a circuit of about thirty yards, in order to approach through a counaught, or screen of canvas, painted red. On our passing this screen, the first officer quitted us, and another immediately coming up, conducted us towards the tent, and at the same time called out to the attendants surrounding, to open to the



right and left, by which we had a full view of the Khan. Upon this the officer desired us to salute, which we did by pulling off our caps after the English fashion, bowing at the same time. The Khan made a slight inclination with his head, and we were then conducted round the outside of the tent, and entered at the back door. On our entrance, the Khan made a second inclination with his head, and desired us to sit down, which we did, at about four yards distance; though at a former interview Mr. Jones had, he was obliged to sit much further off. The Khan seemed pleased: he asked several questions concerning Europe, the English, and their manners and customs: expressed his wish that Mr. Jones had benefited by the air of Shirauz, and assured us both of his protection whilst we staid there, and ordered his secretary to make out a firman, or order, for that purpose. After staying a considerable time, we took leave in the same manner as we entered. The tent of the Khan was a noble one, of an oblong form, and pitched with three poles, which were adorned at the top with gilt balls. The front is open in all weathers; the inside was lined throughout with a beautiful clouded silk, and the open work much the same as that of the minister's: the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and long felts. At the upper end of the tent sat Jaafar Khan, upon a large felt bent double under him: opposite to him stood Meerza Mahomed Houssein, without the tent, and several other officers of the army. The Khan's dress differed not from that of the other great men; he wore an orange-coloured cuba, or coat, and had his scimitar on. The calan which he smoked was of gold, beautifully filigreed, with a ruby in the ser poosh, or head.

In the rear of the Khan's tent, about the distance of forty yards, was the haram, or women's apartments: these were completely walled in by screens of red painted canvas, about twelve feet in height. The Khan has always a certain number of women, whom he selects to accompany him when in camp; and they have the same number of attendants and accommodations as those within the palace.

*A short Account of the Remains of the celebrated Palace of Persepolis.*

ON Thursday evening, the 30th of August, I left Shirauz, in company with Mr. Jones, for the purpose of visiting the ruins of the celebrated palace of Persepolis. We slept that night at a garden without the city, and at three o'clock on Friday morning we set off: at nine A. M. arrived at the village of Zarkan, situated eight fursengs, or thirty-two English miles, from Shirauz. The road to this place is chiefly through a rocky, mountainous country; approaching, however, to Zarkan, you meet with some cultivated land. Zarkan is a large village under the government of Shirauz, and is ruled by a calentar, or chief magistrate. From its vicinity to the mountain, the view of this place is very pleasing; the neighbourhood produces the large red grape. On the road we met with some hundreds of wandering Curds, and Turkomans: they said the name of their tribe was Ort, and that they were going towards Gurmafeer, a place to the southward of Shirauz, in order to spend the approaching autumn and winter. These people lead a wandering life, having no settled place of abode, but move about with their families, flocks and herds, in a manner similar to the ancient Scythians: their complexions were the same as those of the gypsies in Europe, sun-burnt and tawny.

Saturday, September the 1st, moved at half past twelve A. M. At five we crossed the Bund Ameer river, which Mr. Niebuhr has laid down as the ancient Araxes; over this river is a stone bridge, which the natives call Pool Khan. We proceeded on through the plain, and at half after six arrived at the ruins. This stage is five fursengs: the

road lies entirely through the plain, which beginning about five miles to the southward of Zarkan, is continued up to Persepolis, which is situated close under the mountains. Our cafila encamped in a garden ■ mile and a half to the northward of the ruins, near the village of Merdasht, from whence the whole plain takes its name. This plain is exceedingly delightful ; it abounds in game of several sorts, amongst which we discovered partridges, wild pigeons, quails, and hares.

At nine A. M. went to visit the ruins. What remains of the celebrated palace of Persepolis, is situated on a rising ground, and commands a view of the extensive plain of Merdasht. The mountain Rehumut encircles the palace in the form of an amphitheatre : you ascend to the columns by a grand staircase of blue stone, containing one hundred and four steps. The first object that strikes the beholder on his entrance, are two portals of stone ; I judge them to be about fifty feet in height each ; the sides are embellished with two sphinxes of an immense size, dressed out with a profusion of bead-work, and, contrary to the usual method, they are represented standing. On the sides above are inscriptions in an ancient character, the meaning of which no one hitherto has been able to decypher.

At a small distance from these portals you ascend another flight of steps, which lead to the grand hall of columns. The sides of this staircase are ornamented with a variety of figures in basso relievo ; most of them have vessels in their hands : here and there a camel appears, and at other times a kind of triumphal car, made after the Roman fashion ; besides these, are several led horses, oxen and rams, that at times intervene and diversify the procession. At the head of the stair-case is another basso relievo, representing a lion seizing a bull ; and, close to this, are other inscriptions in ancient characters. On getting to the top of this staircase, you enter what was formerly a most magnificent hall ; the natives have given this the name of Chehul Minâr, or forty pillars ; and though this name is often used to express the whole of the building, it is more particularly appropriated to this part of it. Although a vast number of ages have elapsed since the foundation, fifteen of the columns yet remain entire ; they are from seventy to eighty feet in height, and are masterly pieces of masonry : their pedestals are curiously worked, and appear little injured by the hand of time. The shafts are inflated up to the top, and the capitals are adorned with a profusion of fretwork.

From this hall you proceed along, eastward, until you arrive at the remains of a large square building, to which you enter through a door of granite. Most of the doors and windows of this apartment are still standing ; they are of black marble, and polished like a mirror : on the sides of the doors, at the entrance, are bas-reliefs of two figures at full length ; they represent a man in the attitude of stabbing a goat : with one hand he seizes hold of the animal by the horn, and thrusts a dagger into his belly with the other ; one of the goat's feet rests upon the breast of the man, and the other upon his right arm. This device is common throughout the palace. Over another door of the same apartment is a representation of two men at full length ; behind them stands a domestic, holding a spread umbrella : they are supported by large round staffs, appear to be in years, have long beards, and a profusion of hair upon their heads.

At the south-west entrance of this apartment are two large pillars of stone, upon which are carved four figures ; they are dressed in long garments, and hold in their hands spears ten feet in length. At this entrance, also, the remains of ■ stair-case of blue stone are still visible. Vast numbers of broken pieces of pillars, shafts, and capitals, are scattered over a considerable extent of ground, some of them of such enormous



size, that it is wonderful to think how they could have been brought whole, and set up together. Indeed, every remains of these noble ruins indicate their former grandeur and magnificence, truly worthy of being the residence of a great and powerful monarch; and whilst viewing them, the mind becomes impressed with an awful solemnity! — When we consider the celebrity of this vast empire, once the patron of the arts and sciences, and the seat of a wise and flourishing government; — when we reflect on the various changes and revolutions it has undergone, at one period a field for the daring ambition of an Alexander, — at another for the enthusiastic valour of an Omar, we must consequently feel the strongest conviction of the mutability of all human events! — Exclusive of the ancient antique inscriptions already mentioned, are others of a modern date, able to be read, as well as some in the Syriac character; the whole of which the celebrated Mr. Niebuhr has accurately copied and published. Being destitute myself of all materials necessary for copying inscriptions, and at the same time ignorant of the rules of architecture, I have refrained from entering into a diffusive account of this celebrated palace. What I thought most worthy of notice, I have endeavoured to describe to the best of my abilities.

Behind the hall of pillars, and close under the mountain, is the remains of a very large building of a quadrangular form; this may either have made part of the palace, or, not unlikely, a detached temple, as there is a considerable space of ground filled up with earth and mounds of sand, betwixt the two; and as it has within-side symbols emblematical of a religious meaning. This building has four principal entrances to it, two from the north-east, and two from the south-west. The walls are divided into several partitions, which are ornamented with various pieces of sculpture, the most common of which have the figure of a man at full length; he is sitting in a chair, with his feet supported by a stool; behind the chair stands a domestic holding an umbrella; the man has in his hand a round staff; before him are two branched candlesticks, with candles in them; beyond these is a little boy, and behind him is a woman with a goblet in her hand. Underneath this figure are several others in long garments; some of these are armed with bows and arrows, others with spears, and all of them have caps in the form of turrets, which we learn from ancient historians was the mode of dress observed by the Medes. Over the doors of this building, which are twelve in number, are bas-reliefs of a lion seizing hold of a bull, similar to that observable on the grand staircase: the recesses in the walls are all lined with fine granite, and their fronts have handsome cornices of stone. Besides the usual figures, is a very extraordinary one, and is, I suppose, emblematical of the ancient religion of the Persians: it represents a man seated on a pillar, who holds in his hand a small vessel; he has a girdle twisted round the centre of his body, the two ends of which project a considerable distance beyond his cloaths, and have much the appearance of wings; he is dressed in long garments, with a cap, turret-form. Underneath the figure are several lions (a symbol of empire among the ancient Persians) very well executed.

Behind this ruin, a considerable way up the mountain Rehumut, to the north, is the remains of a curious place cut out of the rock, which had formerly an ascent to it by steps, but these being destroyed by time, you are obliged to clamber up by the rock. As there is another building parallel to this, about the distance of eight hundred yards to the south, I shall describe them both together, and add a few observations of what I conceive to have been their original design. — They are lofty buildings of three sides, two of which are plain, and forty feet in height; the third has several fine sculptures boldly executed; in the centre is a pillar with the mystic figure already described sitting at the top: opposite to this stands a man upon a pedestal of three steps; in his

left hand he holds a bow, his right is held up, pointing to the figure on the pillar. To the left is an altar of stone two feet high, upon which fire is burning, and, a little on one side, is a large globe suspended in the air, which has much the appearance of being intended for the sun. These two last-mentioned symbols, we are informed, were considered by the Persian Magi as the two grand principles of their religion, as they adored the Omnipotent Creator of the universe under these types, being each in their nature the purest and freest of corruption of all created things: it may, therefore, be presumed they were intended to represent certain mysteries in the Magian faith. The man with the bow may possibly be designed for a chief of the Magi; or, to hazard a further supposition, the celebrated lawgiver and prophet, Zoroaster himself. However, this is only a suggestion, and I would not be thought to lay it down for a certainty. Every person, on viewing those noble ruins, must have different ideas arise to him concerning them; but as all traces of the original religion have long since perished, together with their learning and language, the world must remain in ignorance until the characters on the walls can be decyphered, which, alone, can clear up the much wished-for ascertainment of the real date of the palace, its devices, emblems, and its real founder. Some have given it as their opinion, that these are tombs of the ancient Kings of Persia, and of this opinion are Mr. Le Bruyn, and Sir John Chardin.

The modern natives call this place Mujilis Gemsheed, or the assembly of King Gemsheed, as they say that Prince used to visit the place, with the nobles and great men of his court, in order to enjoy a delightful view of the adjacent country, of which, indeed, there cannot be a finer prospect than from thence.

Underneath the above-mentioned devices are small openings, which lead to a subterraneous passage, cut out of the mountain; it is six feet in height, and four in breadth: the passage leads a considerable way into the rock, but is quite dark after advancing about thirty yards, and emits a most noisome damp smell. The natives call this place the Cherk Almàs; that is, the talisman, or diamond of fate: they affirm that at the end of the passage is the talisman, and that whoever arrives thither, and asks questions of future events, will be answered from within; but they say that no one has ever yet been able to penetrate to the extremity of the passage, being opposed by the Demons and Genii, whom they believe to dwell there; and superstitiously imagine, that all lights taken in there will go out of themselves. Sir John Chardin, and Mr. Le Brun, however, penetrated a considerable way into this passage, till, they relate, it ended in a path too narrow to admit further progress. As no account has hitherto appeared of these subterraneous passages, but what the superstition of the natives has chosen to invent, it may not be deemed presumptuous in giving a conjecture, that they were originally intended as places for concealed treasure, a custom time immemorially observed, and to this day subsisting among Eastern Princes. Not having lights with us, neither Mr. Jones nor myself thought proper to explore the passage.

Descending to the foot of the mountain, to the south, you meet with the remains of a small square building, which has several doors and windows still standing, having carved figures on them; but as these are only visible to the waist downwards, it is most likely the sand from the mountains has choked up the remainder: the figures are the same with those in other parts of the palace. A little to the westward of this building, you ascend by a stone staircase into a magnificent court, of a quadrangular form. Several pedestals of pillars, and the remains of two grand portals to the east, are still visible: they are all of granite, and the cornices of the portals appear to have been very superb; they are of an oblong shape. On many of the broken pieces of the pillars are ancient inscriptions.



In several parts of the palace are stone aqueducts, made for the purpose of draining off the water that comes from the mountains : they are of blue stone, cut under ground eight feet deep, and two and a half in breadth.

These venerable ruins have suffered much by the ravages of time and weather ; but what still remains of them is as hard and durable as the rock itself. Earthquakes, which are frequent in Persia, have also proved the means of throwing down many of the columns, and otherwise injuring the apartments ; and several of those which have not been overturned by the violence of the shocks, have had their tops nearly removed off, and in this situation remain. The sand which is constantly washed down from the mountains by the rain, in the winter season, has choked up numbers of places, and even covered the pedestals of several pillars.

The old inscriptions discernible on the walls, and other parts of the palace, may be reckoned among the greatest curiosities, as they have never yet been decyphered, either in the East or in Europe ; and what is very extraordinary, the most learned and curious in the Oriental languages have been baffled in every attempt made to learn their meaning : — like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, they remain buried in an impenetrable mystery. Mr. Niebuhr has given all these inscriptions in his second volume, most elegantly and accurately copied, which may possibly assist the curious in their attempts to elucidate them. It is one of the most considerable difficulties to solve when and by whom this palace was originally built. The Grecian historians have given very imperfect and dubious accounts of it, and the Persians no less so. By the present natives, the place is called Tukht Gemsheed, or the throne of King Gemsheed ; who they affirm built it between three and four thousand years ago : he is also expressly mentioned as having erected the Chehul Minâr, or hall of forty pillars. It is related, in Grecian history, that Alexander the Great set fire to and destroyed this rich and splendid palace, instigated to it in a fit of debauchery by the celebrated courtesan Thais. This circumstance, although it has the sanction of history, if one reflects upon the appearance of what still remains of these ruins, any person on viewing them would suppose such an event impossible to have taken place ; as, in their present state, all the fire that could be applied would not make the smallest impression on those huge masses of stone, equal in point of durability and hardness to the solid rock ; and of such are the materials of the whole building. These sentiments arose to me whilst on the spot, and my opinion was strengthened by the fullest acquiescence of Mr. Jones, who thought, like myself, it was absurd to give credit to the idea of its having been burnt by Alexander.

Having met with a short account of the building of this palace, in a Persian manuscript, being part of a work called Rousut al Sefa, or the Garden of Purity, I shall here take the liberty of inserting a translation.

“ It is related by historians, that King Gemsheed removed the seat of government, which was formerly in the province of Sejestan, to Fars ; and that in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, having taken in a spot of ground, of twelve fursangs in length (48 English miles), he there erected such a palace, that in the seven kingdoms of the world there was nothing could equal it. The remains of that palace, and many of the pillars on it, are visible to this day ; and he caused the palace to be called Chehul Minar, or Forty Pillars. Moreover, when the sun, quitting the sign Pisces, in the heavens, had entered Aries, Gemsheed having assembled all the princes, nobles, and great men of his empire, at the foot of his imperial throne, did on that day institute a grand and solemn festival ; and this day from henceforth was called the Noo Roze, or first day of the new year (when the foundation of Persepolis was laid), at which period he commanded, from all parts of the empire, the attendance of the peasants, husbandmen, soldiery,

soldiery, and others, in order to prosecute the design; requesting that all, with joyful hearts and willing hands, should lend their assistance in completing this work. This numerous assembly obeyed the command of their monarch, and the building was finished with all signs of mirth and festivity."

It is further observed, in the *Jehan Arâ*, a book of Persian chronology, that Queen Homaic, who flourished about 800 years after Gemsheed, added a thousand columns more to this palace. — Such are the Persian accounts, which are believed by the present natives to be true ones; but I should presume, that until the ancient characters on the walls can be decyphered, no account of this place, either Grecian, or Persian, or any other, can be depended upon as genuine or authentic, as they are unquestionably of an antiquity far beyond the records of any language now known in the world.

It is to be remarked, that in the figures throughout the whole of the palace, the rules of art are not attended to; the muscles of the figures are wanting, yet the drapery is finely done, and the proportions in general are well kept up, though the contour is only observed, which gives a sameness to the whole. Sir John Chardin observes, that he thinks it is evident, whoever was the architect of this celebrated palace, was ignorant of Grecian and Roman architecture; and supposes that the defects already mentioned were occasioned by his being obliged to finish the work in a hurry, and by that means the figures were left in the imperfect state we find them at present. But Mr. Jones observed to me that he rather supposed it to have been the *ne plus ultra* of those days; and remarked also, that the ornaments he had observed in Sadick Khan's palace at Shirauz, were in the same style as those of Persepolis, and that the architecture of the present Persians was similar to that of ancient times; an observation by no means unworthy of attention. With respect to the figures on the stair-case, I have before observed, that the variety of animals which appear, the camels, led horses, the rams, the triumphal car, and the men with vessels in their hands, all give room to suppose the pomp of a procession is meant to be represented; and I think the position may be corroborated by some part of the translation before inserted.

The materials of which the palace is composed, are chiefly hard blue stone; but the doors and windows of the apartments are all of black marble, and so beautifully polished as to reflect an object like a mirror. One of the principal things worthy of admiration, is the immense strength of the foundation. The whole of the palace takes in a circumference of 1400 square yards: — its front is 600 paces from north to south, and 390 from east to west. Being built at the foot of a mountain, a great deal of it has been smoothed with infinite labour, to make the stones lie even. The height of the foundation, in front, is in several parts from forty to fifty feet, and consists of two immense stones laid together: the sides are not so high, and more unequal, owing to the vast quantity of sand which has fallen from the mountain. It is much to be feared, that in the course of a few centuries, the earthquakes may totally destroy the columns and remaining apartments; but whatever may be their fate, the foundation must endure until the rock itself, on which it is built, shall cease to exist.

I shall conclude with a few observations on the Hall of Pillars.

This hall appears to have been detached from the rest of the palace, and to have had a communication with the other parts by hollow galleries of stone. By the pedestals of the pillars, which I counted very exactly, the hall seems originally to have consisted of nine distinct rows of columns, each containing six; making consequently, in all, fifty-four. The fifteen that remain, are from seventy to eighty feet in height; the diameter at the base is twelve feet, and the distance between each column twenty-two. By the position of the front pillars, the hall appears to have been open towards the plain;



but four of the pillars, facing the mountain, and which are at some distance from the rest, seem to have been intended for a portico, or entrance from the east; they are also of a different style of architecture. The materials of the columns are a mixed sort of red stone, granular.

The hall, situated on an eminence, and commanding an extensive view of the plain of Merdâsh, is strikingly grand, and conveys to the beholder the idea of an hall of audience of a powerful and warlike monarch.

On Monday afternoon, the second of September, Mr. Jones and myself set off to visit the tomb of the celebrated Persian hero, Rostum (called by the natives Nukshee Rostum). It is situated three miles and a half to the north-east of Persepolis: the place consists of four distinct chambers, excavated high in the rock. The devices, in the upper parts, are exactly the same as those of Persepolis, representing the mystic figure, with the altar of fire and the sun. Underneath the sculpture of the second chamber, is a gigantic figure on horseback, cut in stone, and very perfect; he is completely armed and accoutred, and dressed something after the Roman fashion. On his helmet is a globe; two figures are before him, the one kneeling down in a supplicating posture, and the other is in the act of taking hold of the horseman's hand, as if to mitigate his wrath; the horseman is looking sternly upon the figures, and the hand at liberty is applied to the hilt of his sword. On one side of the figure is an inscription in ancient characters but different from those on the walls of Persepolis. Several attendants are in waiting behind the equestrian figure, all of them as large as life; but the proportions are not at all adhered to in the first sculpture, the man being twice the size of the horse on which he rides.

A little to the northward is another representation. At the foot of the rock there are two figures completely armed; one of them is in the action of letting go a ring, which the other grasps. The figure to the right has a globe on his helmet, and a large battle-axe in his hand: that to the left has a domestic behind him, holding an umbrella. Under their horses feet are two human heads; and a little on one side appear the heads of several figures, attendants; most of them have a broad fillet encircling their temples, and a profusion of hair flowing loose. Sir John Chardin supposes, that this may be intended to represent the action of Alexander the Great, receiving the submission of the Persian monarch Darius; but as we are informed by Grecian history, that Darius never saw Alexander, being murdered in his flight shortly after the loss of the battle of Arbela, by his servant Bessus, so I should imagine the Persians themselves would hardly have taken such pains to render the dishonour and ruin of their lawful king so permanent and known to the latest posterity, in order to praise one who had utterly overturned their religion and their laws. Moreover, the work itself bears not the least trace of having been the production of any Grecian artists, as the Greeks at that period were arrived at the highest perfection in the arts and sciences; and had such a thing been done during the time of Alexander, he would most certainly have made use of one of the many celebrated artists who followed him into Asia; but these figures are disproportionate, and executed in a rude manner. To hazard a supposition of my own, I should rather conceive the above device was of a date prior to the Grecian conquests of Persia, and that it was intended to represent some remarkable action in the life of the hero Rostum (from whom the whole of the place takes its name), and that it was cut to perpetuate the memory of it.

Near the foot of the rock is a square building of blue stone, twenty feet in height, by eight in breadth. This place has several windows; the inside is empty, and there

Rostum was interred in this spot ; but many travellers have supposed it to have been the tomb of Darius Hystaspes, from a passage of Herodotus, the Grecian historian, amongst whom Sir John Chardin and Mr. Le Brune are both of the latter opinion.

In a part of the rock, to the eastward, is a sculpture of a figure on horseback, the face of which has been much mutilated, and is scarcely visible ; enough, however, remains to perceive that the figure is that of a man — he has long flowing hair, and has a projection, resembling a horn, on the left side of his forehead. The natives call this figure Iskunder Zu Al Kerneen, or Alexander Lord of the Horns, that is, of an empire extending from east to west ; and they affirm, that it is positively intended for Alexander the Great. Horns, we know, were considered by the ancients as emblems and symbols of power and majesty, and from this we may conclude, without a contrariety to reason, that the Persian idea of this figure is a just one ; as Alexander is always described by the Grecian historians, having a horn on his forehead, or rather a particular lock of hair, resembling one ; and it is also observed on the coins and medals of that prince, which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. Behind the figure on horseback are several others ; they are in armour, on foot, and seemingly attendants on him.

Having staid a short time at Nukshee Rostum, we returned to Shirauz, September 4th.

*Original cause of the Mohurram.*] The first ten days of the month Mohurram (being the first of the Mahomedan year) are observed throughout Persia as a solemn mourning ; it is called by the natives Dèha, or a space of ten days. During this period the Persians, and all the followers of Ali, lament the death of Imaum Hossein, the second son of that prophet, who was slain in the war against Yezzeed, the son of Moaweia, Caliph of the Mussulmans. This event happened at a place called Kerbelaiè, which in Persian implies grief and misfortune. It is situated in Eerack Arabi, the ancient Mesopotamia, between the cities of Cuffa and Medeena. The particulars of the story are as follow :

On the death of Caliph Ali, who was assassinated at Cuffa, Moaweia, of the house of Ommia, succeeded to the caliphate, which he had disputed with Ali during his lifetime. Moaweia, dying shortly after, was succeeded by his eldest son Yezzeed. In the interval, the inhabitants of Cufa [anno Hijera 60.] had sent a solemn embassy to Hossein at Medeena, requesting him to come and take possession of the government, giving assurance of their faithful support. Upon this assurance, Hossein determined to set forwards, at the same time taking with him the whole of his family (excepting his youngest daughter, who was at that time sick). He began his march to Cufa on the 8th of Zùlhuj, accompanied by a considerable body of troops : intelligence of this being carried to the Caliph Yezzeed, who was then at Damascus, he sent orders to Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, to assemble an army and to crush the rising rebellion, by cutting off Hossein and his followers. Obeidollah, in obedience to the command of his master, sent his deputy Ibn Saàd, with ten thousand men, giving him express orders to intercept Hossein in his route. The army in consequence began their march ; and Obeidollah, remaining in the city, took care, by seizing the heads of the faction, entirely to quell the insurrection ; by which means, the Cufians perceiving the situation of affairs, regardless of the oaths and promises they had made, treacherously left the unhappy and deluded Prince to his fate ; for which behaviour they are cursed by the Persians and all the followers of Ali to this day. Hossein with his army had not advanced far, before intelligence was brought him that the enemy had taken their station between him and



the river Euphrates, which lay in his intended route, by means of which he was entirely cut off from the water; an event of the most distressing nature, in the sultry climate of Mesopotamia, where, from the violence of the heat, the weary traveller, even when supplied with water, can scarcely exist. Deprived of that necessary article, how trying must the situation be! Indeed this circumstance was the primary cause of all the misfortunes which befel him:—his men, disheartened at the idea of perishing with thirst, forsook him in great numbers, deserting so very fast that in a few days his whole force was reduced to the inconsiderable number of seventy-two persons, among whom were several of his own kindred, particularly his brother Abbàs Ali, his nephew Càsım, the son of his brother Hassan, his own son Zein al Abudeèn, a youth of twelve years of age, and his two infant children, Akbar and Askur; of the females, were his daughter Sekeena, his sister Zeineb, and his aunt Koolsoom. In this situation continual skirmishes and distresses thickening upon him were finally terminated on the 10th of Mohurram, when Ibn Saàd advancing with his whole force, surrounded his little troop, and they were cut to pieces, after fighting most desperately. Asker, Hossein's infant son, was killed by arrows in his father's lap; and Hossein himself, at length exhausted with fatigue, and fainting under a multitude of wounds, fell. His head was immediately cut off, and the enemy's troops then rushing into the tent, began a general plunder, and took prisoners the remaining son of Hossein, who was sick in bed, together with the females of the family already mentioned; bereaving them at the same time of their ornaments and jewels, and treating them in a most insulting manner. A few days after, they were all conveyed to Damascus, with the head of Hossein, to be presented to the Caliph Yezzeed.

The tradition goes, that at this period an ambassador from one of the European states happened to reside at the Caliph's court, who, on the arrival of the prisoners, was struck with compassion at the miserable appearance they made, and asked Yezzeed who they were; the Caliph replied, that they were of the family of the prophet Mahomed, and that the head was the head of Hossein the son of Ali, whom he had caused to be put to death for his rebellion; whereupon the ambassador rose up and reviled the Caliph very bitterly for thus treating the family of his own prophet. The haughty Yezzeed, enraged at the affront, ordered the ambassador to go himself and bring him the head of Zein al Abudeen, on pain of immediate death; this, however, the ambassador flatly refused; and, as the Persians believe, embracing the head of Hossein, turned Mussulman; on which he was immediately put to death by the command of Yezzeed.

All these various events are represented by the Persians during the first ten years of Mohurram. On the 27th of the preceding month of Zùlhuj, they erect the mumbirs on the pulpits in the mosques, the insides of which are on this occasion lined with black cloth. On the 1st of Mohurram, the Akhunds, and Peish Numazzs (or Mahomedan priests) mount the pulpits, and begin what is denominated by the Persians, al wakàa, or a recital of the life and actions of Ali, and his sons Hussun and Hossein; describing at the same time the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of the Imaum Hossein: the recital is made in a slow solemn tone of voice, and is really affecting to hear, being written with all the pathetic elegance the Persian language is capable of expressing. At intervals the people strike their breasts with violence, weeping bitterly at the same time, and exclaiming, ah Hossein! ah Hossein! Heif az Hossein! Alas for Hossein!—Other parts of the wakàa are in verse, which are sung in cadence to a doleful tune. Each day some particular action of the story is represented by people selected for the purpose of personating those concerned in it; effigies also are brought out and carried in procession through the different neighbourhoods: among these they have

one representing the river Euphrates, which they call *Abi Ferat*. Troops of boys and young men, some personating the foldiers of *Ibn Saâd*, others those of *Hossein* and his company, run about the streets, beating and skirmishing with each other, and each have their respective banners and ensigns of distinction. Another pageant represents the Caliph *Yezzeed* seated on a magnificent throne, surrounded by guards; and by his side is placed the European ambassador before mentioned.

Among the most affecting representations is the marriage of young *Câsim*, the son of *Hussun*, and nephew of *Hossein*, with his daughter; but this was never consummated, as *Câsim* was killed in a skirmish on the banks of the Euphrates, on the 7th of *Mohurrum*. On this occasion, a boy represents the bride, decorated in her wedding garments, and attended by the females of the family chanting a mournful elegy, in which is related the circumstances of her betrothed husband being cut off by infidels—(for such is the term by which the *Sheias* speak of the *Sunnies*). The parting between her and her husband is also represented, when on his going to the field she takes an affectionate leave of him; and, on his quitting her, presents him with a burial vest, which she puts round his neck: at this sight the people break out into the most passionate exclamations of grief and distress, and execrate the most bitter curses upon *Yezzeed*, and all those who had any concern in destroying the family of their *Imaum*.

The sacred pigeons, which are affirmed by the Persians to have carried the news of *Hossein's* death from *Kerbelâi* to *Medeena* (having first dipped their beaks in his blood as a confirmation) are also brought forth on this occasion. The horses on which *Hossein* and his brother *Abbâs* are supposed to have rode, are shewn to the people, painted as covered with wounds, and stuck full of arrows.

During these various processions much injury is often sustained, the Persians are all frantic even to enthusiasm, and they believe uniformly that the souls of those slain during the *Mohurrum* will infallibly go that instant into Paradise; this, added to their frenzy, which for the time it lasts is such as I never saw exceeded by any people, makes them despise and even court death. Many there are who inflict voluntary wounds on themselves, and some who almost entirely abstain from water during these ten days, in memory of, and as a sufferance for, what their *Imaum* suffered from the want of that article; and all people abstain from the bath and even from changing their cloaths during the continuance of the *Mohurrum*. On the 10th day, the coffins of those slain in the battle are brought forth, stained with blood, on which scimitars and turbans, adorned with herons' feathers, are laid:—these are solemnly interred, after which the priests again mount the pulpits and read the *wakâa*. The whole is concluded with curses and imprecations on the Caliph *Yezzeed*.

The Persians affirm this to be a martyrdom, and throughout the whole of the recital *Hossein* is distinguished by the appellation of *Sheheed*, or the martyr. They add, that he also knew of, and voluntarily suffered it as an expiation for the sins of all who believe in *Ali*, and consequently that all who lament the death of their *Imaum*, shall find favour at the day of judgment: they further assert, that if *Hossein* had thought proper to make use of the powers of his *Imaumship*, the whole world could not have hurt him, but that he chose to suffer a voluntary death, that his followers might reap the benefit of it in a future state: whence arises the belief among the Persians, that at the day of judgment *Fatima*, the wife of *Ali*, and mother of the two *Imaums* *Hussun* and *Hossein*, will present herself before the throne of God, with the severed head of *Hossein* in one hand, and the heart of *Hussun* (who was poisoned) in the other, demanding absolution in their name for the sins of the followers of *Ali*; and they doubt not but God will grant their request. — I had these particulars from a religious



Persian, and as they are not generally known to Europeans, I have taken the liberty of inserting them.

The death of the Imaum Hussun (who was poisoned by Ayèsha the widow of Mahomed at Madeena) is lamented by the followers of Ali on the 28th of the month Sefr, being the day which he died, but it is not kept with so great solemnity as those of Mohurru; although Hussun is mentioned during that period. Many persons have confounded these together, and erroneously suppose the Deba of Mohurru to be equally for both; but I was particularly inquisitive on this head, and was assured by several persons that the distinction between the two was very considerable.

*Return from Shirauz.*] On the 11th of October 1787, I set off from Shirauz on my return to India: as I came down by the same route as I went, I shall only mention the different stages, with a few slight observations, which by reason of my illness, I was before unable to attend to.—12th and 13th, passed the villages of Khoon Zineoon, and Desterjun. 14th, We arrived at Kazeroon.

*Kazeroon.*] Kazeroon, by its remains, appears formerly to have been a city of considerable note, and in size little inferior to Shirauz; it is situated in the centre of an extensive plain, surrounded by high mountains; there is a fine lake, about four miles east of the city. In the vicinity of Kazeroon, great quantities of opium are produced, but the Persians do not make this very valuable commodity an article of trade; I should imagine they did in former times, as the opium of Kazeroon is much spoken of in the East. The city, excepting a mosque, and the governor's palace and gardens, has nothing remarkable in it.

15th, 16, and 17th, We remained at Kazeroon.—18th, We arrived at Comarige.—As I have not before particularly described the mode of travelling in Persia, it may, perhaps be acceptable in this place.

*Mode of travelling in Persia.*] A cafila is composed of camels, horses, and mules, the whole of which are under the direction of a cheharwa dâr or master. It is to him the price of a mule or camel is paid, and he stipulates with the traveller to feed and take care of the beast during the journey; he has under him several inferior servants, who help to unload the beasts of burden, take them to water, and attend them during forage. The cafila, whilst on the journey, keeps as close as possible, and on its arrival at the Munzil Gah, or place of encampment for the day, each load is deposited on a particular spot, marked out by the master, to which the merchant who owns the goods repairs; his baggage forms a crescent; in the centre are placed the bedding and provisions; a rope or line made of hair is then drawn round the whole, at the distance of about three yards each way, which serves to distinguish the separate encampments. During the night, the beasts are all brought to their stations, opposite to the goods they are to carry in the morning, and are made fast to the hair rope aforementioned. At the hour of moving, which is generally between three and four in the morning, they load the mules and camels. In doing this, the passengers are awakened by the jingling of the bells tied round the necks of the beasts, in order to prevent their straggling during the march. A passage from Hafiz may probably be not unacceptable to the reader, in this place, as it serves to illustrate the custom above described.

جرس فریاد میل ارد کم بر بنیل فحبل ما

“The bell proclaims aloud, bind on your burdens!”

ODES OF HAFIZ.

advance, and the whole moves off in regular succession, in the same order as the preceding day.

19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, we passed the villages of Khisht, Dowlakie, Berazgoon, and Chekaduk. — On the 23d, we arrived at Abu Shehr, where I met with a most polite and hospitable reception from Mr. Charles Watkins, the Company's Resident at that place.

On the 22d of December I embarked on board the Scorpion cruizer, Captain Jervis, for Buffora, who very politely made me the offer of a passage. — 24th, in the evening, passed the Buffora Bar, and on the 28th came to anchor opposite the town.

*Buffora.*] The city of Buffora is situated at the extremity of the Persian Gulph, in latitude  $31^{\circ} 30'$  north, on the banks of a fresh water river, called the Shat-al Arab, which is a branch of the Euphrates; that river uniting with it about fifty miles to the north-west of Buffora. The city is a very large one, but indifferently fortified: a mud wall encircles the town, having bastions and turrets also of mud; it had formerly a wet fosse, this is now dried up in many parts. Buffora, notwithstanding these disadvantages, held out upwards of eight months when besieged by the Persians in 1777; it was evacuated at the end of the ensuing year, occasioned by the death of Kerim Khan, Vakeel of Persia. Although the great desert extends to the very walls of the city, the banks of the river on each side are exceedingly fertile and pleasant; they produce corn, pulse, rice, and several European fruits: but that which most adds both to the pleasant situation and profit of the place, is the date tree; by the cultivation and produce of this tree, a considerable revenue arises to the Turkish government. The vicinity of Buffora abounds in game, particularly hares, partridges, and the wild hog, whose flesh is of a delicious flavour. The modern Buffora is fourteen days journey (by couriers) from Aleppo. There is a very grand mosque in Buffora, and also a convent of Italian missionaries. The city is at present under the government of the Turks, and the residence of a Mussullem, appointed by the Bashà of Bagdad, under whom he acts.

The following are the particulars of a revolution that took place about eight months ago.

*Revolution at Buffora.*] In the middle of April 1787, Sheick Twiny, an independent Arabian chief of the tribe of Montifeeks (whose country is situated to the eastward of Buffora on the Grand Desert), arrived at the village of Zubeer, on his return from an expedition he had undertaken against his enemies; in which he was successful; the Mussullem, or Turkish governor, came out from the city to meet and congratulate him on the occasion.

The Sheick of the Montifeeks had long had it in his mind to obtain possession of Buffora, which he laid claim to, and considered as the right of his family; deeming the present, therefore, a more favourable opportunity, he, without further ceremony, made the Turkish governor, and those who accompanied him, prisoners, which was effected without bloodshed, and before the Turks could entertain the least suspicion of his intentions. The following day the Sheick sent into the city a body of fifteen hundred Arabs, who took possession of the serai, or governor's palace, and every thing, without opposition, there being but few Turks in the place, and not more than two hundred troops in all. The place was preserved in its usual order, and the property of individuals remained safe. On the third day the Sheick Twiny made his own entry, accompanied by the remainder of his army, being about five thousand men. The Arab government immediately commenced.



The commanders of the Turkish ships in the river were deposed, and Arabians appointed in their room; and shortly after, the Mussellem, with the council, the Dufter dar, or treasurer, and the principal officers under the Turkish government, were embarked on board ship, and sailed for India.

These steps being taken, the Sheick began to prepare himself for the consequences that might ensue, and first he wrote letters to Constantinople, excusing what he had done, by alleging and endeavouring to prove, that Bussora had originally belonged to his own proper ancestors, and that, as a free and independent chief of a tribe, he had undoubted right to obtain what was his due. But he further observed, that in order the Porte might perceive how anxious he was to settle matters amicably, and if possible procure peace, he had on this occasion forborne the victor's right, and had hitherto held untouched both the persons as well as the property of individuals whom the laws of war gave him a power over; that order and justice were as rightfully administered as before. He finally concluded his letters with professions of allegiance to the Porte, on condition of his being nominated to the Bashalick of Bagdad and Bussora united in one, and hoped the Sultaun would lend a favourable ear to a request so justly made.

These letters he dispatched to Constantinople, and at the same time providing for the worst that might occur, he augmented his army; after which, assembling the Jews, Armenians, and other merchants of Bussora, he requested from them the sum of six thousand tomans as a loan, for which he informed them a bond should be given. The merchants, though averse to a proposal so extraordinary in its nature, from the possessor of Bussora, yet had no other resource than compliance left them: and it was some consolation to them to reflect, that the Sheick had given them hopes of re-payment at a future period; and to do him justice, there was every probable reason to suppose, in case of success, he would have done so. The sum proposed was raised, and the bonds delivered. Shortly after, Sheick Twiny quitted the city, and marched his army to the village of Naranta, on the banks of the Euphrates, in the direct road to Bagdad, where he encamped and resolved to await the coming of the Basha, and risk his fortune on the issue of a pitched battle.

It will now be necessary to observe, that at the surprising of Bussora, before mentioned, the eldest brother of Sheick Twiny had deserted his camp, and fled to Soliman, the Basha of Bagdad, claiming his protection. This person whose name is Sheick Ahumud (for chiefs of families amongst the Arabs have always the appellation of Sheick), had been set aside from the succession at the death of their father, which ever after gave him a disgust towards his brother, and he eagerly longed for an opportunity to emancipate himself, and acquire a party of his own. This was offered him on the present occasion; he was received by the Basha with open arms, and the strongest assurances of support and protection were given him.

Soliman, on receiving intelligence of the revolution, assembled his army; and the more to strengthen his party, he resolved to seek the alliance of an Arabian tribe bordering on Bussora to the south-west. This tribe (whose chief is called Sheick Chaubi), from their vicinity to the city, have it in their power to become either very useful or very troublesome neighbours, their country extending along the banks of the river below the town, and they also possessing a considerable fleet of armed gallivats. To this tribe Sheick Twiny had previously made an offer of alliance; but they demanding what he thought too much, as the reward of friendship at this critical juncture, he unwisely relinquished the idea, which his more politic adversary the Basha took advantage of, and a treaty of alliance and friendship was settled between them. The Basha, on this

this occasion, was liberal in the donation of two districts of land, which he granted to the Chaubi.

During the interval of those preparations, the letters sent by Twiny had arrived at the Porte: they remained unanswered to *him*, but a positive order was dispatched to the Basba of Bagdad to send the head of Twiny to Constantinople, the Porte making no other observation on the matter, but disdaining to treat with the chief of a petty Arabian tribe.

The Basba, being now fully prepared, set forward in the beginning of October 1787. On the 23d instant, he came up with the Arabs, and on the 25th the Turks gained a complete victory over the Sheick and his adherents. The action was fought on the banks of the Euphrates; the conflict was bloody, and for some time doubtful, but at length the Arabs giving way, a total rout ensued, and Sheick Twiny was obliged to fly from the field of battle, attended by a few followers.

Buffora, by this victory, once more fell into the hands of the Turks, and the re-establishment of the Turkish government became the necessary consequence. Though every thing at present is quiet, and the troubles are terminated, yet the trade of the place has suffered greatly thereby, and it will take some time to restore it.

The unfortunate merchants, on this occasion, besides losing what they had lent to Sheick Twiny, were obliged to deprecate the anger of the Basba by a new fine, who also gave orders for double duties to be exacted on all goods for that year; and this, as the Sheick had before received the like, fell very heavy upon them. The Basba, after establishing a new Mussellem, returned to Bagdad. Sheick Twiny has lately sent submissive letters; but the Basba has confirmed Sheick Ahumud in the chieftship of the Montifeeks, and is resolved to maintain him in it. — Buffora, Feb. 1st, 1788.

On the 12th of February 1788, I embarked on board the brig Futta Illâhi, Captain Nimmo, on my return to India. I cannot, however, quit the Persian Gulph, without making my acknowledgments to Messrs. Manesty and Jones, of the Buffora factory, who did every thing in their power to render my short stay with them agreeable. After touching at Muscat, Cocheen, and Masulipatnam, on the 22d of April we arrived in Ballasore roads; and on the 25th anchored off Calcutta after an absence of two years and two months.

*Forſan et hæc olim meminiffe juvabit!*



## E X T R A C T S

FROM

*F O R S T E R ' S   T R A V E L S ,*

CONCERNING THE NORTHERN PARTS OF PERSIA \*.

**O**N the 5th November 1783, in an open well-cultivated plain, six fursungs, where, halting for a few hours, the kafilah proceeded two and a half fursungs further, to Kandahar. This city, comprized within an ordinary fortification of about three miles in circumference, and of a square form, is populous and flourishing; and lying in the great road which connects India with Persia and Tartary, has been long a distinguished mart.

At Kandahar are established many Hindoo families, chiefly of Moultan and the Rajepoot districts, who, by their industry and mercantile knowledge, have essentially augmented its trade and wealth. The Turcoman merchants of Bochara and Samarcand also frequent this mart, whence they transport into their own country a considerable quantity of indigo, with which commodity Kandahar is annually supplied from various parts of Upper India. This city is more abundantly supplied with provisions, and at a cheaper rate than any place I have seen on the west side of the Indus. The grapes and melons of numerous kinds are peculiarly high flavoured, and are comparable with the first fruits of Europe. The extensive range of shops occupied by Hindoo traders, with the ease and contentment expressed in their deportment, affords a fair testimony of their enjoying at Kandahar liberty and protection.

A son of Timur Shah governs the city, with a tract of dependent territory, which produces, it is said, a revenue of eighteen lacks of rupees; and it may be justly concluded, from the appearance of all classes of people, that this collection is made without any extraordinary rigour. The environs of Kandahar occupy an extensive plain, covered with fruit gardens and cultivation, which are intersected with numerous streams of so excellent a quality as to become proverbial; and the climate is happily tempered, between the heats of India and the cold of Ghizni.

It is generally supposed in Europe that Kandahar stands in a country of mountains, and we speak of the lofty passes of Kandahar, as a point not less clearly ascertained than the existence of the Alps. Permit me to rectify this popular error, which, like many of a similar texture, has made mountains of mole-hills, and acquaint you, that the face of the country surrounding the new city of Kandahar forms an extensive plain, which as it approaches the site of the old fortrefs, becomes interspersed with hills; but they are of a moderate height; nor do they form any barrier of difficult access, or deep extent.

On leaving Kabul, Bagdasir, my Georgian host, had given me introductory letters to two Turkish residents of Kandahar; the one kept a small shop in the bazar, the other,

\* A Journey from Bengal to England, by GEORGE FORSTER, Vol. II.

Aga Ahmed, had a warehouse of some note in the karavansera. This person received me in a courteous manner, and though then in the character of a Christian, I did not experience any of that haughtiness of manner, with which Mahometans usually regard those of our faith. He even directed his countryman, the shopkeeper, to provide the necessaries for my journey, and to carefully guard against any fraud.

The immediate departure of a kafilah, and the fast approach of winter, when the road to Persia is impassable, determined me to proceed to Herat; though I wished much for a few days' residence at Kandahar. Aga Ahmed made an agreement with the kafilah bashi\* for my passage, and also that I should be furnished with an attendant: this benevolent Turk did not formally recommend me to the director's care, but enjoined him, on the forfeiture of his favour, to shew me a particular kindness, which was only to be testified by producing my written assurance. Could I have found a fit associate to divide the cares of house-keeping, I would have remained at Kandahar during the winter, as I still felt the effects of the late sickness, and feared a relapse from the fatigue of travelling; but the predicament in which I stood wholly precluded any domestic connection with the Mahometans; and that of some stray Armenians, whom I found there, did not seem eligible.

The road from Ghizni to Kandahar, according to my gross observations, tends to the south-west; and the country has generally a barren aspect, with a scanty supply of wood and water. The buildings, from a scarcity of timber, are constructed, as in the Kabul districts, of sun-burnt bricks, and covered with a flat arched roof of the like materials.

On the 8th of November left Kandahar, and proceeded to Koby, three fursungs, a small village surrounded by a fertile plain. At the distance of two or three miles to the northward of Kandahar, is seen, on the left, the remains of the old fortification, standing on the summit of a rocky hill of a moderate height, but abrupt elevation. The road at this place tends over a stony ascent of easy access, skirted on each side with scattered hills and wide intervals of level land. It is the form of this part of Afghanistan, which has given rise, I apprehend, to the European belief of the mountains and passes of Kandahar.

On the 9th, at Auskuckana, three fursungs, a small village on a thinly cultivated plain. Our slow progress was occasioned by the Kafilah bashi remaining at the city to adjust some business; he had, however, wholly neglected mine, for not a person, when my seat was known, would even touch my garment.

My ill fortune on the score of an associate, which seemed to pursue me with an inveterate rigour, had now given me, in the place of the scolding nurse and crying child, a theological and very clamorous disputant. This bewildered man, unhappily for himself, and for his neighbours, had conned over some of those books of ingenious devices and quaint syllogisms, which are held in high note among the modern Mahometans, and have fixed among them a false distorted taste. Even Hafis's poems, so conspicuously replete with wit, and with incitements to mere mortal pleasures, are tortured by them into praises of Mahomet and his religion. This fanatical logician was unknown to the other passengers, but he lost no time in displaying to them his store of endowments; and seeing me a favourable subject, he directed his full force at my head.

I had engaged the services of a travelling Arab taylor, and was anticipating the various conveniences which they promised, when he was driven from the prospect of an easy livelihood by the threats of the logician, who denounced Mahomed's vengeance against him if he eat the bread of an infidel. The poor man, hungry and almost naked, started

\* Bashi in the Turkish language signifies head, and is often applied in Persia to the head of a society or party.



at the danger, and, fearful of incurring so powerful a wrath, resigned his new office, and went to live as it might please God. Thus had I the dreary prospect of being pestered for the term of twenty days, by this outrageous Mahometan, who, so far from being conscious of any mischief, believed that he was performing an act of extensive merit.

On the evening of the 10th, the kafilah moved, and arrived next morning at Howrah Muddit Khan \*, six fursungs; the country open, and the soil a mixture of light sand and earth, producing generally that species of weed which has been noted in the remarks of the road from Kabul to Kandahar.

On the 13th, at Khackchamparah, six fursungs. No marks of habitation were seen during the journey of these two last days.

On the 14th, at Greishk, seven fursungs, a large walled village, on the skirts of which runs a small stream of good water; halted two days at this place, where a toll is collected on merchandize and passengers, and where a stock of provisions was laid in, to supply our consumption through a tract of desert country, extending from this station to the westward. My persecuting neighbour had already deprived me of two servants, when, after much entreaty, mixed with a warm eulogium on his extensive capacity, I prevailed on him to moderate his resentment against me, and cease to anathematise those who might in future be induced, from their necessity, to eat the bread of an infidel. He had, by his rhetoric, precluded me even from the use of a barber; one of whom being observed by him at the close of an operation on my head, was reprobated for his impurity in virulent language, and compelled to cleanse his razor by an ordeal process, the expence of which was defrayed by Christian money. On paying the charge, I observed to our logician, whom I now treated with little ceremony, that he should also cause the shaver to purge the money by the like trial, that he might not be polluted by the touch; a precaution, I added, that would doubtless have been adopted, but for a fear of half the amount being lost in the large alloy that debases all Mahometan coins. I was, he said, an incorrigible Kafir, whom ill-fortune had placed with him on the same camel, and which he feared could never thrive under such a weight of sin.

The urgent calls of hunger now gave me a third servant, who was in his way from Moulton, to make the pilgrimage of Muschid †. Think how ardent must have been the zeal which incited this pilgrim to so distant a journey, and supported him against the inclemency of winter, and the inhospitality of a rude people, with scarcely a covering to his back, no shoes to his feet, or an atom of money in his purse. Though I gave him some warm clothing and substantial food, he was not able to keep pace with our party.

His successor was a Kashmirian, who had a countenance as demure as that of Gil Blas's Ambrose Lamela; and, to the extent of his ability, as great a rogue. To enhance the value of his services, for which I was obliged to pay largely, he expatiated on the sin he was about to commit, eating the salt of an infidel; but I soon found there was no restriction to his diet. Most of the Asiatic nations have affixed to salt a certain sacred property, but it is held in the highest degree of reverence by the Mahometans, who speak of salt as Europeans do of bread. A servant is said to eat the salt of his master; and, when guilty of ingratitude, he is stigmatized with the name of a nimmock haram, or, a polluter of his salt; which is, I believe, the only term applied by Mahometan nations to such an offender.

\* Howrah signifies an artificial fountain, or reservoir of water; one of which had been constructed at this place by Muddit Khan, for the accommodation of travellers.

† It is at this day the reputed capital of Khorasan.

Here I am induced to notice the ominous qualities vulgarly ascribed on some occasions to salt in our own country ; as when it is accidentally spilled, some part is thrown over the left shoulder, that the supposed ensuing evil may be averted ; a ceremony I have seen even observed by those who were far removed from the lower classes of life. But early impressions are not easily effaced, and they often impart to the ideas a lasting colour ; especially among those who are secluded from the more hacknied paths of the world.

On the 17th at Shah Nadir, a station in the desert, seven furlongs. This reservoir, built by Nadir Shah, is a square of about twenty feet, over which is erected on pillars a terrace, which extending beyond the margin of the water, affords a convenient lodging to travellers.

On the 18th at Shorab\*, five furlongs ; some spots of cultivation were scattered around this station, but no village in sight.

On the 19th at Lungerah, a place of halt, in a desert country, where we found only one weak spring of water, which was quickly consumed.

On the 20th at Dilaram, six furlongs, a fort in ruins, which is skirted by a rivulet, on whose margin are seen some scattering trees ; a rare sight in this land ! but the adjacent country is barren and uninhabited.

On the 21st at Buckwan, seven furlongs, a station in the desert.

On the 22d at Drauve in the desert, six furlongs. This day the sun shot forth his rays with great force, and the ground which we occupied being a bare sand, reflected an intense heat. Whilst I was panting under a very flimsy covering, I observed that my neighbour, a Turkoman Seid, who had no shelter, was struck by the sun, and lay struggling in a violent agony.

The Mahometans thought him possessed with the devil, and instead of affording any proper aid, began an extraordinary conversation with the supposed fiend ; especially my learned associate ; who, in a peremptory manner, ordered the devil to depart out of the body of a true believer, and a branch of the holy stock ; but, seeing that the command had no effect, though conveyed in Arabic and a vehement tone of voice, I requested to interfere ; and lifting the incumbent from the ground, threw some water on his face, and forcibly poured a quantity down his throat. The Seid soon felt the natural benefit of this administration ; but the violence of the shock created a temporary stupefaction, during which he uttered so incoherent a language that it confirmed the opinion that a demon was speaking, and not the Tartar.

Our logician addressed the infernal personage in a very spirited harangue, severely reprehending his entrance into the body of one of the prophet's descendants, and challenging him, that the cloven foot might conspicuously appear, to repeat the Mahometan creed. To this test the shattered state of the Seid's senses were not yet equal ; nor was it until he had smoked his pipe, that he distinctly, and with surrounding applause, pronounced his creed and shook off all diabolical connection.

On the 23d at Ghurmow, in the desert, five furlongs. This evening my persecuting companion left our party, and proceeded with some Hindoo traders to Fera, an Afghan town of some note, lying about forty or fifty miles to the south-west of Drauze. But my joy at this riddance, like most joys of sublunary texture, was of short duration ; for the vacant place fell to the lot of a much more obnoxious associate.

I begin now to be ashamed at having imposed upon you so large a portion of private story ; yet, without it, I perceive my subject would be as barren as the land I travel

\* Signifying salt, or brackish water ; but at this station the water was fresh.



over, which exhibits to the fatigued eye one vast sterile plain, without rivers, wood, or scarcely a place of human habitation. Though personal recitals are usually suspected of vanity, and even in their best sense partake more of the amazing than the instructive qualities, you may perhaps gather from my anecdotes, some subsidiary knowledge of the human character; an important subject, and not less various than the human face. My next associate was the Arab taylor, already mentioned, who succeeded to the vacant pannier by the assistance of one of his countrymen in our party, a trader of some note. A conversation held when I was thought asleep, some nights before, between the logician and the taylor; in which the latter was strenuously exhorted to rob me, boded no good from the change; and this counsel was strengthened by a doctrine very prevalent among the lower classes of Mahometans, that it is meritorious and laudable to attack the property of an infidel. Nor was the advice lost on the taylor, who promised an active diligence in performing the required service. Combining, therefore, the interest of the world with that of his religion, he commenced a brisk attack on my chattels; but which, at that time, my vigilance preserved. His subsequent attempts, however, were more successful, as were seen in the diminution of my apparel. This freebooting system of the taylor's kept me in constant alarm, and displayed every day, in strong colours, the ill consequences of my Christian garb.

On the 24th at Ghiraunee, six fursungs. A populous walled village, situate near a small running water. Halted there the next day to make the payment of a toll, and purchase provisions for a three days' journey over a desert, which reaches from this place to the confines of Khorasan. My Kashmirian servant was wholly divested of religious fervour, or a religious cloak. For he neither prayed nor washed; but, was much addicted to theft; and while the taylor purloined my cloaths, he was occupied in stealing my victuals. Yet this propensity was, in some degree, compensated by his services, which found active employment in bringing water and fuel, baking cakes, and boiling my coffee.

On the 27th at Khoos, in the desert, five fursungs. The taylor's payments for conveyance not being regularly made, the seat was again put up to sale, when it was purchased by an Hindostany Mahometan, who had left his wife and family at Juanpour, in the district of Benares, and was thus far advanced on a pilgrimage to Muschid. From the mouth of this devotee, who had formerly been a marauding soldier, there issued an almost incessant ejaculation of prayer. In truth it may be said, that he overflowed in holy zeal; for he prayed and cried in a successive rotation. What an extraordinary character would this be thought in a country where its inhabitants, though shunning no peril or fatigue in the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, will scarcely cross a street to look into a church. The various precepts of education and religion, established in the world, but especially, the different orders of government, produce so strong a dissimilarity in the manners of men, that in investigating those of the most opposite tendency, they would seem to arise from beings of a distinct species.

On the 28th at Gimmuch, seven fursungs, a station in the desert.

On the 29th at Ouckal, a large walled village, standing within the limit of the province of Khorasan, and inhabited wholly by Persians. It is proper here to observe, that the natives of Persia proper, particularly the soldiery, are often termed at home, as in foreign countries, Kuzzel Bach; a Turkish compound, signifying, I am informed, red head, and originally from the Persian cap being covered at the top with red cloth.

On the 30th a halt.

On the 31st at Sheerbuchsh, a desert station, six fursungs.

On the 1st of November, at Zearut Ghah, seven furlongs. A small village, on the skirts of which are seen the remains of some tombs or religious edifices.

On the 2d, at the city of Herat, three furlongs. The road from Kandahar to Gimmuch leads to the west, or west by north; from thence to Herat, it has, I apprehend, nearly a northern course, yet I cannot account for the sudden deviation of the track. The country is generally open, and interspersed with barren rocky hills of a moderate height. The soil is light and sandy, producing naturally little else than the aromatic weed before noted.

The city of Herat stands on a spacious plain, which is intersected with many springs of running water, some of which are supplied with bridges; and the numerous villages, surrounded with plantations, must afford a pleasant view to the traveller, whose eye has been wearied with the deserts of Afghanistan.

The director of the kafilah carried us to the karavansera, where passengers only are lodged; the other places of this description being all occupied by resident traders. In the square of the karavansera I perceived an Armenian, whom I informed, with little ceremony, lest he should hear a less favourable story, that I was an European, returning from India into my own country: but, for greater personal security, I had assumed the name of an Armenian. And to quiet any suspicion of the truth of my relation, I produced a letter, which the Georgian, Bagdasir, had written in my favour to an Armenian, who lived in a village about forty miles from Herat. My address was closed by observing, that though not in want of money, I stood in great need of his friendly offices, as he must be well aware of the various difficulties affecting those of our sect, especially when alone, among so bigotted a people as those of Khorasan. The Armenian heard the little oration, which all my powers of speech had pointed at him, with a resolute coolness, and perceiving, I suppose, that my acquaintance would yield no profit, he turned from me and went away, without even expressing the common terms of civility. The frequent occasions which have occurred to me of noticing the Armenian character, soon cooled my resentment, and enabled me to reconcile the weariness and apathy of this man, with the common principles which govern his sect.

The present race of Armenians, like the Jews, are, with little exception, occupied in commerce, chiefly in its smallest branches, and having long lost with their country the spirit of patriotism, divested also of any valuable attainments of knowledge, they exhibit but a faint discrimination of character; being generally industrious, servile, and dishonest; they are scattered over various parts of Turkey, Persia, and India, where, except in the English colonies, they live on a precarious sufferance, being often, on trivial pretences, insulted, oppressed, and plundered. To palliate the evils inherent to their situation, and create a substitute for powers, honours, and national importance, they pursue the different roads of traffic with unremitting ardour, and invariably measure their pleasures by the mere extent of their wealth. Little susceptible of friendship, they are rarely induced to afford, even among themselves, mutual assistance, or disposed to promote the enjoyment of society: the Armenians at this day are divided into two general classes; the one, the most numerous, established in the Turkish dominions; the other in Persia.

The city of Jolfa, contiguous to Isfahan, was expressly founded for the accommodation of the Armenians, by Shah Abbas, who, aware of the benefits that would accrue to his kingdom from a commercial and temperate people, gave them an ample protection, and many indulgencies. He permitted them, it is said, to accompany their adventures to foreign countries, and advanced a capital to those not already opulent, but he always



Jolfa colony, and from an actual residence in that city, or sprung from families originally settled there, are all conversant in the Persian language. The vicinity of the Persian gulf, which has long maintained an important trade with India, naturally allured the Armenians to a region, which at once held out to them the hope of speedy opulence, and the advantages of a temperate government. Nor did they ever think of returning into Persia; but having amassed a sufficient wealth, purchased the release of their families on the payment of large sums.

From the description given of the Armenian character, which I am not conscious of having in the least overcharged, you will not be surprized at the mode in which I was received by my brother Christian at Herat. But I now determined to slide into the Mahometan community, on the first fair occasion: seeing, that without adding one benefit, I was like to become a martyr to our faith. In all parts of the city which I frequented, I was known only as a Mahometan, except in the karavansera, where I experienced unceasing insult and derision; for the Persians affect a greater scruple in communicating with those of a different religion, than any other sect of Mahometans. I was not even permitted to draw water out of a common well, but ordered to place my vessel on the ground, which was filled by a person hired for the purpose, from a height and not touched. When I have been waiting for this supply, the town boys, who in their round of diversion would occasionally take our karavansera in their way, learning that I was an impure person, used to form a circle round me, and desired to have the unclean part shewn to them, and seemed much disappointed on being told that I was unclean all over. My journey hitherto, if not productive of other advantage, has corrected my former belief of Mahometan politeness and suavity of manners, and also I trust, qualified that insolence of carriage, which I have too frequently evinced to the inhabitants of our eastern territories.

Could one of our Indian grandees in the fulness of his power, seated in a palankeen, perhaps on an elephant, surrounded with those bands of stickmen and pikemen, who disperse every man and beast that dares to cross his way: could this personage be transported on the sudden to Herat, how speedily would he be divested of his plumes, and reduced to his simple value. Whenever I quitted the purlieus of my lodging, I became a grave hypocritical Mussulman, with the enjoyment of all his privileges; and the city containing a various description of people, there was little apprehension of a discovery. I daily frequented the eating-houses, where all the talk of the day is circulated, and chiefly fabricated, in conjunction with the barber's shop, which in Herat has a neat appearance. In the centre of it stands a small stone pillar, on the top of which is placed a cup of water, in readiness for operation, and the sides of the shop are decorated with looking-glasses, razors, and beard combs. Home having no pleasures for me, I was glad to see them abroad; nor did I fail in procuring equal amusement and information. Neither Afghanistan or the northern provinces of Persia, permit the residence of courtezans, or any women that dance or sing for the public entertainment. The northern Persians affect to express an abhorrence of the Indian Mahometans, whom they reprobate for a general depravity of manners, and a neglect of religious duties: yet this temperate and demure people are much defamed, if, under their mysterious carriage of body, they do not practise in their different vocations every species of deceit and knavery. In India, it is a well known fact, that the Moguls, a denomination given there to all foreign Mahometans, throw off their northern cloak, and becoming notorious debauchees, laugh to scorn the precepts of their doctors.

Herat is a smaller city than Kandahar, but maintains a respectable trade; and the market-place, occupying a long street, covered with an arched roof, is filled with shops

of various wares. Bread, rice, and flesh-meats, with numerous fruits and vegetables, are equally cheap and abundant; and the grand market, held once a week, is so crowded with the produce of the neighbouring villages, that a passage through it is difficult and fatiguing. Coarse woollens of a strong texture are manufactured in the adjacent districts, a great part of which, made into garments, are exported into various parts of northern Persia; furtouts of sheepskin, with the wool in the inside, are seen hanging almost at every shop, and are used by all classes of people in the winter season. A small quantity of European commodities is brought to this city from the gulf of Persia, consisting of French broad cloths, cutlery, small looking-glasses, and prints; but their low prices shew that their demand is very limited. The police of Herat is judiciously regulated, and the administration of justice vigorous. Two men, apparently above the ordinary class, having been convicted of theft, were suspended by the heels from a dome, which stands in the centre of the market, where they remained near an hour, to the terror of a gazing populace; having witnessed a part of this exhibition, I returned to my lodging with the interested belief that my property, which was all in specie, concealed about my person, had derived from it additional security.

On exchanging some gold at this place, I found the rate more favourable than at Kandahar or Kabul; yet still one in sixteen less than the Indian value. Though I was unremittingly cautious in concealing my money, knowing that discovery would bring an host of enemies on my head, one of my travelling acquaintances suddenly opened the door of my apartment at Herat, a very unusual practice among Asiatics, and found me examining the state of my finances. At the sight of the gold spread on the floor, he was struck with surprize, and expressed an eager curiosity to know the occupation that had procured me so much wealth. But either my speedy departure from Herat, or a more than ordinary honesty in the Persian, prevented the ill consequence which I had apprehended from the imprompt visit.

Khorasan\*, the most eastern, the largest, as well as the most important province of Persia, participated the various and severe revolutions which affected the state of the kingdom, from the dissolution of the Grecian dynasty, until the end of the ninth century, when it was involved in the Tartar dominion of the Sammani race; and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, after having experienced a succession of Tartar and Arabian rulers, it was annexed to Persia, by Ismael, surnamed Sofi, from whom the appellation of Sofi has been given in Europe to the Persian kings.

Herat had continued the principal city of Khorasan until the succession of Ismael, who bestowed the pre-eminence on Muschid, from its containing the tomb of Moozau Reza, his supposed ancestor, and one of the twelve grand Imaums or priests of the Persians. Since Muschid became the capital of Khorasan, it has been enriched by large donations of the Mahometans of the sect of Ali, generally known by the name of Schiahs. Even Nadir Shah, the least disposed of the Persian kings to ecclesiastical endowments, ornamented a mosque, which had been built over the tomb of Moozau Reza, with a massy cabinet of silver, and a spacious lamp of the same metal.

The religion of the Koran had existed throughout the vast Mahometan empire for the space of nine hundred years without any essential change, when it experienced a severe blow from the intrepidity of Ismael, and rapid success of his arms. In the course of the first periods of Mahometanism, four Arabian doctors, Malek, Ambel, Hanneifa, and Shaffee, made commentaries on the original text, which were adopted by sects, now severally distinguished by the names of commentators. But these explanations do

\* Khor, in the ancient Persic, it is said, signifies the last. — Sir William Jones.



not appear to have militated with much force against the first system, or created any violent feuds among the different sectaries.

As the grand innovation of the Mahometan religion was effected in Persia, and chiefly exists in that region, I am induced to make a brief chronological review of some of its more important epochs, previously to this event. It is seen that the Tartar Arfaces, having expelled the princes who succeeded to the conquest of Alexander, established a dynasty, which flourished for the space of four hundred and fifty years, and which, in the two hundred and twenty-sixth year of the Christian æra, was extinguished in the person of Artabanus, by Ardeshere\*, the Artaxerxes of the Greeks, said to have been descended from the ancient race of Persian kings.

Should it be found, which I am induced to believe, that the Persians and the Parthians are a distinct people, it is not improbable that the nations which ancient history denominates Parthians, were composed of the Tartars of the Arsacian dynasty, which held a long possession of Persia, and maintained such fierce conflicts with the Roman empire. The dexterity of the archers, which constituted the strength of the Parthian cavalry, and an excursive rapid manner of fighting, which was represented as most formidable when they appeared to fly from battle, corresponds closely with the military practice of the modern Tartars, in contradistinction to the other nations of northern Asia.

The Arabians carried their conquests and their religion into Persia, in six hundred and fifty-one of our æra, from which time it remained subject to the khalifat, until the middle of the eleventh century, when it was overrun and subdued by Jogrul Beg, a Turkoman prince of the Seljukian† race. The successors of Jogrul continued to govern certain quarters of Persia in the year 1187, when the last prince of that race was conquered by Amalek Dinar, who, in his turn, fell under the power of Jakash, the Turkoman prince of Kharasm: but, in 1218, of our æra, the Kharasmian empire, the Arabian khalifat, with the grandest portion of the eastern world, were swallowed up in the power of Jenjis Khan, whose posterity held possession of Persia for the space of one hundred and seventy-four years, though ultimately rent into small principalities by a series of intestine wars. It became, after that period, an appendage to the dominion of Timur, and appears to have acknowledged, in separate governments, a general dependence on certain branches of his family, until the year 1499, when Ismael Sofi, taking up arms against the Tartar princes, rose by a quick succession of victory, and assumed the undivided throne of Persia.

It is seen in Knolles's very estimable History of the Turks, that Ismael was the son of Hyder, surnamed from the place of his birth, or the residence of his youth, Ardebil, and that he was honourably descended. Retiring from the occupations of the world, Hyder fixed his abode in the city of Tauris, where he passed an austere contemplative life, and was held by the inhabitants of that quarter in great veneration. The fame of his character soon procured him the name of a prophet, and caused multitudes of people to resort to him from all parts of Persia and Armenia. The more to seduce the multitude, ever delighted with novelty, he began to inveigh against the doctrine of the Mahometans, which enjoins a sacred remembrance of the three‡ first successors of their prophet, and to revive the opinions of a certain preceding dervish, named Guini, who was known also by the designation of Sofi. He asserted, as if inspired from above, that none

\* The successors of this prince were denominated Sassanides, from Sassan, the father of Ardeshere.

† So named from Seljuk, his grandfire, who occupied a private station in the vicinity of Samarkand, where he held large landed possessions.

‡ Abubucker, Omar, and Osman.

should enter the kingdom of Heaven but those of the sect of Ali, who was the genuine heir and associate of Mahomet; and ordained, that the memory of Abubucker, Omar, and Osman, should be held accursed. The King of Persia, whom Knolles calls Assymbeius Ufan Cassanes \* to strengthen his government and acquire popularity, invited Hyder to court, and gave him his daughter in marriage, from which sprung Ismael. Being now brought forward on a more conspicuous theatre, Hyder grew into the general estimation of the people, which alarming the fears of Jacob, the son of Hufsan, who had succeeded to the kingdom, he secretly put him to death.

Ismael, flying from the power of Jacob, took refuge with the chief of a small territory on the southern borders of the Caspian Sea, named Pyrchales †. Some of the friends of Hyder retired at the same time into Lesser Armenia, then subject to the Turks, where they promulgated their doctrine with success. Their disciples were distinguished by a red band tied over the turban, whence it is said they first obtained the appellation of Kuffel Bash, which in the Turkish language, as has been already noticed, signifies red head. Ismael, during his retirement, advanced, with zeal, the tenets of his father; and, being by nature conspicuously eloquent, of a penetrating genius and austere life, of a comely person and invincible courage, was, by the vulgar, counted more than human. The nobles of the neighbouring country, allured by the endowments of Ismael, and the specious novelty of his doctrine, resorted to his place of abode with offers of support; and, though seeming to shun them, he was invested with authority, honours, and wealth. In token of his rare qualifications, and a belief in his power of prophecy, Ismael received the title of Sofi, "which," says Knolles, "signifieth, among these people, a wise man, or the interpreter of the gods ‡."

The death of Jacob, which must have happened at an early period of his reign, and the tumults that ensued in Persia, then usurped by one Elvan Beg, who was also engaged in a warfare with his brother, named Morad, encouraged Ismael to urge his fortune on so promising a field. Obtaining some military aid from Pyrachales, his first protector, he penetrated into Armenia, where he recovered the patrimony of his family, and was cordially received by those who had favoured his father. Pursuing his success, he penetrated into Shirvan, he took and sacked Shah Machce, the capital of the province, by the plunder of which he largely increased the numbers and hopes of his army. Elvan Beg had now expelled Morad, and was busied in punishing some of the principal citizens of Tauris, the capital of the kingdom, for having taken up arms in favour of his brother, when Ismael suddenly approaching the city, took it without opposition. Elvan, deprived of other support, formed an alliance with his brother, but in his progress to form a junction with the army of Morad, he was vigorously attacked by Ismael, and slain in battle; the conqueror marched without delay against Morad, who was encamped

\* It is seriously regretted that the Greek and Roman writers, as also many of the moderns, have not delivered to us the literal names of men and places, which occur in their history of foreign nations. This want of accuracy, or rather the impulse of an absurd vanity, has involved the European histories of Asia in a maze of obscurity; those, especially, which represented the series of warfare maintained against Persia by the states of Greece, and ultimately the conquest of that empire by Alexander of Macedon. The name given by Knolles to the Persian king, taken from some Latin records, is evidently a misnomer, as no such denomination is now in use among the Mahometans, and we know that no change has affected their name, since the first establishment of the khaliphate. His regal title, being a Tartar, might have been Azim Beg, signifying a great lord or prince; and his domestic appellation, Hufsan Cassim.

† So expressed by Knolles.

‡ This word, I apprehend, is purely of Greek origin; the Mahometans had, at this period, been long conversant in Greek letters.



at Babylon, and compelled him to fly into the Arabian desert \* : he rose without a competitor to the throne of Persia †.

Ismael is perhaps the first prince who at once conquered ■ spacious kingdom and the religious prejudices of its people. Nor does it appear that any of those violent commotions were excited, which usually mark the progress of ecclesiastical reformation. The system of Hyder and Ismael was founded on the position, that Mahomet had given his daughter Fatima to Ali, as a mark of the greatest affection, and bequeathed to him the succession of the khaliphate. But, that in defiance of this sacred testament, Abubucker, one of the associated friends of Mahomet, setting aside the claims of Ali, had assumed the powers of government, which at his death, were also forcibly held in a consequent administration by Osmar and Osman. But, that the injuries of Ali, having ultimately roused the divine interposition, he became the ruler of the ‡ Mussulmans. This doctrine being unanimously received, Ismael ordained, that as the three first khaliphs were usurpers and sacrilegious violators of the last mandate of their prophet, their memory should, at the five stated times of prayer, be reprobated with every expression of contumely, and the severest vengeance of God denounced against them. He also inserted, at the conclusion of the Mahometan creed, that Ali is the friend or the beloved of God, and directed that he and his posterity should be distinguished by the appellation of imaums, or holy men ||. In contradistinction to the Soonis, who in their prayers cross the hands on the lower part of the breast, the Schiahs drop their arms in straight lines; and as the Soonis, at certain periods of the prayer, press their forehead on the ground or a carpet, the sectaries of Ali lay on the spot which the head reaches, ■ small tile of white clay, impressed with characters sacred to the memory of Ali.

Some classes of the Schiahs believe that Ali was an incarnation of the deity, who perceiving, they say, the mission which had been delegated on Mahomet to be incomplete, assumed the person of this khaliph, for the purpose of fixing the Moslem faith and power on a firmer basis. The Schiahs have imbibed strong religious prejudices, are more inflamed with the zeal of devotion, and consequently less tolerant to the other sects than the Soonis. In Persia they do not permit a Sooni to eat at their board, and in common language, without provocation or heat of temper, they call him an infidel. But in what light, dear sir, will you view a numerous and civilized people, who have produced writings that would exalt the name of the most polished nations, yet in solemn deliberate expression, imprecate God's wrath five times a day, on the souls and ashes of three men who never did them an injury, and who, in their day, advanced the empire of Mahomet to a high pitch of glory and power. Not appeased with uttering the keenest reproaches against the memory of these khaliphs, they pour ■ torrent of abuse on every branch of their families, male and female, lower even than the seventh gene-

\* Where he was cut off by domestic treachery.

† Ismael's accession happened about the year 1508.

‡ In commemoration of the four first successors of Mahomet, who were also his confidential associates, and by their enthusiastic courage, had been his grand instruments in aggrandizing the khaliphate, the general body of Mahometans, except the Persians, are often termed Char Yaree, or those of the four friends. They are likewise called Soonis, an Arabic word, signifying the followers of the right path.

|| The real number consists of eleven persons, to which a twelfth, supposed yet to come, has been added; their names are Ali, Hussin and Hussayn, his sons, Zyne-ul-Abedein, Mahomet Baukur, Jaffier Sadue, Moufa Kazim, Ali Moufa Befa, Mahomet Tuckee, Ali Nughee, Hussin Anscany and Mahomet Mhedy. The titles bestowed usually on Ali are, Ameer-ul-Momenein, Mortiz Ali and Hyder. This last denomination, signifying a lion, is particularly given to Ali, when his military exploits are rehearsed. But when the profoundest respect is expressed for his memory, he is entitled Ameer-ul-Momenein, or lord of the faithful.

ration. I have seen their imagination tortured with inventing terms of reproach on these men and their posterity, and commit verbally every act of lewdness with their wives, daughters, and the progeny down to the present day. The Soonis, though aware of this unvaried ceremony of execrating the memory of men, whom they have been long taught to hold in reverence, and that they themselves are stigmatized as infidels, do not even, when fully empowered, intemperately resent this persecuting spirit of the Persians.

In the division of Khorasan, subject to the Afghan empire, the Persians enjoy a fair portion of civil and religious liberty, and are rarely treated with insults.

In noticing the more liberal opinions of the Soonis, in the practice of their religion, I am brought to the recollection of an occurrence, which places this fact in a conspicuous point of view.

An Armenian merchant from Ispahan, accompanying an adventure of some value, came to the karavanera, in Kabul, where I lodged; and though five of his countrymen were on the spot, the other residents being Jews, Mahometans, and Hindoos, not one of them advanced to give him welcome, or an offer of assistance; and to augment his embarrassment, all the apartments of the serauce were occupied. In this predicament stood the Armenian, and he must have lain in the street, had not a Turk invited this forlorn Christian into his own apartment; and he fed him also at his own board. One of the Armenian tribe, after some days, taking shame perhaps from the Mahometan example, or expecting some advantage from the cargo of his countryman, tendered him a part of his habitation, which the stranger at first refused; nor did he accept the invitation, until seriously admonished of the crime of forming so close a connection with an infidel.

It is now time to revert to my own story, and inform you, that it had been my first intention to have proceeded from Herat to Reshd, the principal town of the Ghilan province, which lies a few miles inland from Inzellee, a Russian factory, on the border of the Caspian Sea. It is a computed journey of seventy days, of about twenty miles each, from this city to Reshd\*, but the road which leads through the lesser Irak†, has a deviating course from the direct line.

Being informed by the Armenians of Herat, that Russian vessels navigate along the coast of Mazanderan, to which a straight track lay from hence, though not much frequented, from being subject to the depredation of the Turcoman Tartars, I was resolved to pursue this route, at once direct and wholly unknown to European travellers.

A kafilah being about to proceed to Turshish, a town lying in the direction of Mazanderan, I made an agreement with the director for a conveyance; but with a confidential stipulation, that I was to be received in a Mahometan character; and the better to guard against a discovery of my person, I took the name of an Arab, a people little known in this part of Persia, and the knowledge of whose language is confined only to some of the most learned priests.

Some days before my departure from Herat, an Afghan Seid came into my apartment, and perceiving in the course of conversation that I was a Christian, he exclaimed, with sensible emotions of joy, that he had now obtained a favourable opportunity of

\* From Herat to the town of Jubbus, a route of fifteen days; thence to Yerd twenty-five; and to Cashan ten; and a fifteen days' journey to Reshd.

† There are two provinces of Irak, the lesser and the greater; the latter, termed Irak Azeem, of which Bagdat is the capital, chiefly depends on Turkish and Arabian emirs.



revenging the greivous injuries sustained by many of his holy ancestors at the hands of infidels, and that unless I paid ■ fine of five hundred rupees \*, I must repeat the creed of Mahomet, and be circumcised. Pretending an ignorance of the purpose of this demand, I carried the seid, with a mischievous intention I confess, to the next quarter, where the Armenian corps, four in number, were then assembled, and requested the principal of them, who spoke the Persian language with fluency, to explain the substance of the seid's demand; and this was precisely the point to which I wanted to reduce the question. When the hungry Afghan perceived, that instead of one Christian he had found five, his exultation had no bounds. He swore by his beard, that we should all incur the fine or circumcision. Oh! what a glorious sight, cried he, will be displayed to our prophet, when these hardened infidels, renouncing their heresy and impurities, shall become a portion of the faithful: what a triumph to our holy religion! The expedient which I had adopted, though not a fair, was for me a fortunate one; as the controversy, which became serious, was now more equal. The seid called loudly on the Mahometans in the name of the prophet, to assist in compelling the enemies of his religion either to embrace it, or by administering to the wants of his descendants, contribute to its support; the Persian residents of the karavansera endeavoured to assuage the Afghan's intemperance; but they quickly withdrew all interposition, on being told that the toleration of their doctrine was a greater indulgence than the maintenance of their execrable tenets deserved. The seid experiencing, however, more obstinate resistance from the Christians than he had expected, it was evidently seen, that however ardent might have been his zeal for the advancement of religion, he was not the less mindful of his temporal welfare; and permitting himself, after displaying great powers in this holy war, to be soothed by the suppliant infidels, he withdrew his threats for a trifling sum of money, far disproportioned to the first demand. And here I must observe, that when I saw the resolute and judicious manner in which the principal Armenian conducted his share of the conflict, I felt a compunction for having involved him in so serious an embarrassment.

At Herat I found, in two karavanseras, about one hundred Hindoo merchants, chiefly natives of Moultan, who by the maintenance of a brisk commerce, and extending a long chain of credit, have become valuable subjects to the government; but discouraged by the insolent and often oppressive treatment of the Persians, they are rarely induced to bring their women into this country. When the Hindoos cross the Attock, they usually put on the dress of a northern Asiatic: being seldom seen without a long cloth coat and a high cap. Some Jewish traders reside also at Herat, where they are accused of practising all that system of chicane, to which their tribe is so notoriously addicted in the western world. Being habituated to the manners of Upper Asia, and conversant in most of its languages, the Jews and Armenians mix with little personal inconveniency in Mahometan societies.

The leading customs of the various nations of Asia are similar, or but weakly diversified. When they sit, the legs are crossed, or bent under them; they perform topical ablutions before and after meals, at which no knife or spoon is used, unless the diet be wholly liquid. They invariably adopt the like modes of performing natural evacuations. And all the hair of the body is shaved, except that of the beard; yet this last usage is more peculiar to Upper Asia, where, likewise, all degrees of people cover the head,

\* Such pecuniary assessment is termed Jayzeah, and is occasionally levied in Mahometan countries, on those who do not profess the faith of Mahomet.

affixing the idea of indecency to its being bare; and they never enter an apartment covered with a carpet, without pulling off their shoes.

On taking leave of the Armenians, I could not help observing, perhaps unseasonably, that, instead of contributing to my assistance, in a land where our sect already experienced many grievances, they had considerably increased them, by withholding even the inferior offices of humanity; but that I cordially forgave a treatment which was to be ascribed to the excess of caution, constitutionally inherent to their tribe. The principal Armenian earnestly urged me to open myself to him, and disclose the mystery which appeared in my character. It was not in reason, he said, to believe that motives of curiosity, as I alledged, could have induced me to incur so much fatigue, danger, and expence, which were only to be compensated by the prospect of gain, or a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the Armenians, said he, are now the only visitors of the sacred tomb, and indeed the only pure Christians now existing. He was of opinion, in short, that my story was a counterfeit, and concluded by asserting, that I was a jewel-merchant, or a spy. I endeavoured to explain, that, among the natives of Europe, it was a common usage to visit foreign countries, where an observance of the manners and arts of various people improved the understanding, and produced a more extensive knowledge of mankind; and that a frequent intercourse with nations of different customs and religious opinions, taught them to shake off domestic prejudice, and to behold all men with the eye of common affection. To this language, which he had probably never before heard, he listened with an air of vacant wonder; but, as the doctrine did not square with his sentiments of the world, he ultimately treated it with contempt; wishing me, however, a better journey, he said, than my plan promised.

On the evening of the 22d of November, I left Herat, and halted that night at Alum Guffour Chushmah\*, three quarters of a fursung. Here let me again crave your indulgence for the copious self-narration already imposed on you, and for that which I fear is yet to come. But what can I do? Northern Persia is, at this day, equally void of events as of letters, and has but few monuments of grandeur. You must, therefore, extend a large portion of patience over these communications, and by permitting me to speak for myself, the favourite amusement of all travellers, you will make me a sufficient recompence for all the little chagrins which I incurred, and some solitary hours which I passed in the course of my journey.

The kafilah director, Aga Ali, and his family, which consisted of his mother, wife, and a servant, having consented that I should be received among them in the character of an Arab, going on a pilgrimage to Muschid, I joined the party at an appointed place, whither every person resorted except the females of our family, on whose heads, and indeed all parts of them, many indecent reproach was thrown. There was no mortal ill which these women did not deserve to feel; but, when women were concerned in any undertaking, what good could result, exclaimed all the enraged Mahometans. Night approaching, the kafilah moved, and left Ali to escort the ladies, in which service I was also retained. On their arrival he began to utter some angry language; but it became manifest that we were members of a female government, which was conducted by the mother of Ali. She seemed in her manners not unlike the Afghan lady whom I heretofore endeavoured to celebrate, but had less fierceness and decision; the deficiency, I presume, arose from the constitutional difference between the tempers of an Afghan and a Persian; for my new dame evinced the same thirst after supreme sway, but

\* Chushmah, in the Persian, signifies a natural fountain.



exercised it with more mildness. Ali remaining at the town-gate to make some toll payments, dispatched the ladies and me, under the charge of his associates, who, perceiving our progress to be very slow, and the night far advanced, left us with little ceremony. When Ali arrived, he expressed much resentment at the scandalous desertion of his friends, and many thanks for my attention; though I could hear him murmur at the indecency of Mahometan women being entrusted to the charge of an infidel. But Ali's honour might have remained safe in the most intemperate quarter of the world; and, for my part, I was so grievously loaded by a heavy musket which he had given me to carry, that, had his spouse been a Venus, I would not have looked at her. No apprehension now existed of a scolding nurse, a crying child, or a fanatic disputant; or, indeed, of any thing which could actually offend; for my present associate was a bag of rice, from whose good neighbourhood I anticipated much satisfaction.

On the evening of the 24th, moved from the Cushmanah, and arrived the next morning at Dhey Soorch, four fursungs. Some little cultivation was seen, but the general face of the country bore the same wild inhospitable aspect, as in the eastern quarter of Khorasan. The benefits attached to my new character, were now conspicuously testified. I was, from my supposed sect, entitled Hadji, and much courted by all the passengers, especially when the given purpose of my journey was understood. No person in the description of a Christian should attempt to make a passage through this part of Persia; should it, through a train of favourable events, be accomplished, he will be harassed and defrauded, even on a principle of religion, and ever insulted with impunity. The attempt, indeed, I think impracticable, and liable to subject the adventurer to imminent danger.

On the 26th, at the Pool, or Bridge of Skebo, three and a half fursungs, in an uncultivated country. This bridge, built of brick and mortar, stands over a small river whose name I could not learn, running to the southward or left, and is fordable at most seasons.

On the 27th, at Corian, a large village, four and a half fursungs. In this neighbourhood, I saw some windmills, for grinding corn; they are constructed on the same principles as those of Europe, but instead of canvas wings, broad leaved flags are substituted. The toll gatherer at Corian affects to observe a peculiar vigilance in the execution of his office, which he saw occasion to exercise on me.

Passengers, proceeding to the westward, usually procure a passport at Herat; but being averse to a mode which might have led to inconvenient explanations, I did not apply for this document. The officer, though glad of the omission, held out the utter impossibility of passing without the signature of government, and argued with much delicacy on the crime of disobedience. But feeling some of my money in his hand, he observed that my case admitted a favourable construction; that I was an Arab, and a pilgrim of the holy tomb of Muschid. He would therefore relax a little, he said, in so good a cause. To put money into thy purse, is as necessary in Khorasan as it was in Venice, with the difference, that there the more decorated the garb, the greater respect was shewn to the person, whereas in Asia, the security and the comforts of life often depend on a wary concealment of wealth, and all its appendages.

The complaints of Asiatic travellers against a camel-driver, are not less frequent than those of marine passengers, in our country, against the master of a ship, and oftentimes with the like want of just cause. Men under restraint and deprived of accustomed amusements, become unreasonable in their desires, and fretful from the natural disappointment of vain wishes. The cross incidents which their situation necessarily produces, and which a degree of skill might qualify, are often outrageously ascribed to their conductor.

ductor. This preliminary, though militating against myself, I thought but honest to the exhibition of certain charges against Ali, the kafilah director. The first shews, that having bargained with this Mahometan, on the payment of a stipulated sum, for a conveyance to Turshish, he at the first halting place laid me under a contribution, on pretence of the extraordinary weight of my baggage, though he well knew, that the equipment of a mendicant could not have been more slender. This demand was no sooner adjusted, than he commenced another attack, not on my purse, though that was weak, but on my fame, which was vulnerable all over.

Ali seeing me generally addressed by the title of Hadji, and treated with a marked civility, was much mortified, and began to sap the importance I had obtained. He whispered to some of those with whom I associated, that I was no Hadji, nor even one of the true faith. They expressed great surprize at this information, but blamed him for the disclosure; nor did they ever communicate the story to the other passengers, or abate in their former attention.

On the 29th at Charfoorch, seven fursungs; a station in an uninhabited country, and supplied with one well, whose water was barely sufficient for the supply of our party.

On the 30th at Turfala, three and a half fursungs; a station in the desert, near a well of brackish water.

On the 1st of December at Kauff, seven fursungs, a populous, and in this country a large village, which maintains a moderate traffic with Herat, Muschid, and Turshish. Markets and public shops being only seen in the cities and principal towns of Persia and Afghanistan, travellers are obliged to apply for provisions to the housekeepers, who are often unable to provide the required quantity. Though Kauff is a village of note, bread in no part of it is publicly vended, and having occasion for a three days' supply, I advanced the required price to a Persian, who, after keeping me in waiting till midnight, absconded. Bread and the cheese of sheep's milk, when procurable, was my common fare; which, with a water beverage, gave me a vigour and strength equal to the daily fatigue I incurred. And when the inclemency of the weather is considered, and how broken his rest must be who is carried on the back of the roughest paced animal that moves, thrust also into a crib not half his size, and stunned by the loud clamours of the drivers, you must grant that no ordinary texture of constitution is required to accompany the kafilahs in northern Persia.

Having witnessed the robust activity of the people of this country and Afghanistan, I am induced to think, that the human body may sustain the most laborious services, without the aid of animal food. The Afghan, whose sole aliment is bread, curdled milk and water, inhabiting a climate which often produces in one day extreme heat and cold, shall undergo as much fatigue, and exert as much strength as the porter of London, who copiously feeds on flesh meat and ale; nor is he subject to the like acute and obstinate disorders. It is a well known fact, that the Arabs of the shore of the Red Sea, who live with little exception on dates and lemons, carry burdens of such an extraordinary weight, that its specific mention, to an European ear, would seem romance.

On the 3d of December at Ruee, four and a half fursungs, a populous village, where a fall of snow produced a change on the face of the land, to which I had been long a stranger. Halted on the 4th, on account of the inspection of some goods which had been damaged by the weather. Three Persians, with myself, occupied the lower part of a wind-mill, which our joint endeavours to defend from the cold were wholly ineffectual; yet my companions seemed little affected by it. They were horsemen, and having no attendants, were obliged to clean their cattle, and go in search of forage, fuel, and provisions; these offices they performed with alacrity, nor did they once shrink from the



boisterous drifts of snow and a north wind, that, I verily believe, must have swept every mountain-top in Tartary. My body, which a residence of twenty years in India, had greatly relaxed, and a recent sickness enfeebled, was open to every touch of those rude blasts, and I saw, with mortification, a North Briton screening himself from a climate which imparted vigour to an Asiatic. My associates had been horsemen in the service of Timur Shah, but disgusted at his ill payments, they had retired, and were returning to their families at Nishabor.

On the 5th, at Say Day, five and a half fursungs, a small fortified village, whose adjacent lands, extending in a valley, seemed to be well cultivated.

On the 6th, at Ashkara, five fursungs, a small fortified village. A great quantity of snow fell on our arrival at this place, and the weather became so tempestuous that the kafilah could not proceed. Our party went into the fort to seek shelter, and, after earnest entreaties, were conducted into a small dark room, barely capable of defending us against the storm, which had now set in with violence. The inhabitants, aware of our distress, furnished an abundant supply of fuel, which became as necessary to our existence as food; but when the cold was a little qualified, we experienced an urgent want of provisions, not an article of which was to be procured at Ashkara. This dilemma dismayed the stoutest of us, and became the more alarming from the apparently fixed state of the weather. Yet such cordial pleasures are inherent in society, that, though pent up in a dark hovel, which afforded but a flimsy shelter against the mounds of snow furiously hurled against it, our good humour with each other, and an ample supply of firing, produced cheerfulness and content.

One of our associates, who had received a more than ordinary education, and had a taste for poetical literature, amused us with reading Jamis's story of Joseph and Zuleicha \*, which for its scenes of wondrous pathetic adventure, and the luxuriant genius of the poet is happily adapted to soften the rigours of a winter's day. Nor was our companion deficient in accompanying the reading with that energetic emphasis and deep nasal tone, which in the east is thought highly ornamental to the recitation of poetry.

As our pleasures and our sorrows exist largely in the imagination, and as at this period my ideas did not wander beyond the circle of my residence, I felt comforts in my present situation, equal, perhaps, to the enjoyments of the most refined societies. How often, in the fervour of my heart, have I prayed for the fortitude which is said to have actuated the stoic school, that I might shackle, or at least qualify the passions that are continually precipitating us into dependence and embarrassments, and establish within myself a resource for conducting all the operations of life. But the wish was futile, nor would the gratification of it accord with the œconomy of human nature.

The inhabitants of Ashkara were now busily employed in commemorating the death of Husseyn, the second son of Ali, who was slain at Karibullah, in the vicinity of Bagdat, where a monument has been erected to his memory, and whither the Schiahs numerously resort, in the first ten days of the Mahometan month Mohurram †, to offer up their prayers. Hussein, the elder brother, was poisoned by some female machinations; but the celebration of this event, which is noticed at a different period of the year, does not produce that tumultuous lamentation, and often dangerous effects, which accompany the memory of Husseyn's fate.

A pilgrimage to the tomb of Husseyn, confers the title of Karribullahee; which classes next after the Hadji, and before a Muschidee, an appellation given to those who

\* The Patriarch of Ægypt. Zuleicha is the name given by the Arabians to the wife of Potiphar.

† The Mahometan months being lunar, the feasts observed in Razzar and Mohurram are moveable.

visit the shrine of Muschid. The pilgrims of Karribullah make grievous complaints of the insults and oppression of the Turks. Yet it would seem that persecution inflames and invigorates their sense of this religious duty, so that it is merely rated by the extent of difficulty and danger it occurs; for I have known a Schiah travel from the banks of the Ganges, to prostrate himself at Husseyn's tomb, amidst the scoffs and rigour of the Turks. To prevent the Afghans from throwing a ridicule on their observance of the Mohurrum ceremony, which happened during our halt at Ashkara, the Persians shut the gate of the fort, and commemorated the day by beating their breasts, and chaunting, in a mournful tone, the praises of Husseyn.

In India, though the proportion of the sect of Ali is small, and Husseyn only known but by his name, this occasion never fails to excite extravagant tokens of grief and enthusiasm; and it often happens, that the masquerade mourners, impelled by a violent agitation of their minds and bodies, and heated also by intoxication, commit desperate outrages: but the fact is, that all the natives of India, Hindoos and Mahometans, are wonderously attracted by public exhibitions, and those of the most glaring kind. Though any external commemoration of Husseyn's death is repugnant to the doctrine of the Soonis, those of India cannot resist so alluring an offer of gratifying their love of show and noise. Many of the Hindoos, also, in compliance with this propensity, and the usage of their Mahometan masters, contribute largely to augment the Mohurrum processions. I have heard Mr. Schwartz, the Christian missionary on the coast of Coromandel, as pious a priest as ever preached the gospel, and as good a man as ever adorned society, complain that many of his Indian proselytes, disgusted at his church's want of glitter and bustle, take an early opportunity of going over to the Popish communion, where they are congenially gratified by the painted scenery, by relics, charms, and the blaze of fire-works. From Schiahs and Soonis, Protestants and Roman Catholics, I am forcibly brought to the business of the day. It is the roguery of a camel-driver, on whom, should you ever travel in Persia, never put your faith. Ali now gravely informed me, that he meant to proceed, on the next day, towards Nishabor, but that he would provide a conveyance for me to Turshish on an ass. It was in vain to talk of engagements, the injustice of forfeiting them, or the sum I had advanced; and had not one of my associates pleaded my cause with a spirit that intimidated him, Ali would have laughed at my plea.

On the 10th, the storm having abated, the kafilah moved before day-break, and arrived in the evening at Hoondeabad, six and a half fursungs, a small village, situate in a well-cultivated plain, watered by many rivulets. Ali, with an ill grace, procured for me one side of a camel, the other being poised by a bag of rice, consigned to the market of Turshish; my companions, who had continued to treat me with much kindness, proceeded from this station to Nishabor, which lies about seventy miles to the north-west of Hoondeabad.

The division of Khorasan, which has been annexed to the Afghan empire, seems to be wholly intrusted to the management of Persians, who, though ■ conquered people, live in the enjoyment of every right, civil or religious, which could have been granted to them under their own princes. We met a party this day returning from the army, which Timur Shah had sent to besiege Muschid. This city, on which depends a small tract of territory, is governed by Shah Rock, a grandson of Nadir Shah, and, I believe, the only branch of that Prince's family now in existence.

Shah Rock is the offspring of Mirza Kuli, the eldest son of Nadir Shah, by a daughter of the Sultan Husseyn, who was driven from the throne of Persia by Mahmoud the Afghan.



Afghan. After Nadir's death \*, the empire fell to the possession of Ali, his nephew, who cut off all the descendants of Nadir, except Shah Rock, then a youth, whom he intended to raise nominally to the throne, should the Persians shew any strenuous opposition to his government; but being, in a short time after his accession, encountered by his brother, who, by liberal donations, had collected a strong force, Ali was defeated and taken prisoner in the field. Ibrahim, though at the head of a numerous army, and possessing the southern provinces of the empire, saw the impracticability of attaining the dominion of Persia, whilst Shah Rock, who was much beloved in Khorasan, held the city of Muschid, where a large portion of the treasures of Nadir were deposited.

That he might the better succeed in his design of seizing the person of Shah Rock, his only rival, he declared this Prince, by a lineal descent from Nadir and the race of Sofi, to be the rightful heir of the kingdom, and by public deputation invited him to Isfahan, that he might there be invested with the diadem of his ancestors. The adherents of Shah Rock, averse from entrusting him to so powerful and suspicious a charge, made an advantageous use of Ibrahim's professions, by installing, with the necessary ceremonials, the young Prince at Muschid. Ibrahim, baffled in the design of drawing Shah Rock to Isfahan, caused himself to be proclaimed King, and proceeded to reduce the chiefs of Khorasan: but squandering his treasures by an indiscriminate profusion, and having disgusted his troops by an injudicious choice of officers, he was betrayed by them, and, together with Ali, then his prisoner, delivered to the ministers of Shah Rock, who put the brothers to death.

About this period appeared, it is said, a descendant of the ancient Sofi family, who had escaped the massacre of the times, and improving to his purposes the distraction of the kingdom and the minority of a young Prince, he suborned, by a large, and extensive promises, a party in the court of Muschid; and having procured, at a secret hour, admittance into the palace of Muschid, he seized the person of Shah Rock, and deprived him of sight. This act was soon punished by the death of the perpetrator; but Shah Rock, cut off by this calamity from the hope of empire, was contented to remain at Muschid, in the possession of a very limited revenue.

He has two sons, Nadir Mirza, and Wulli Neamut, who are waging against each other an inveterate predatory war. Wulli Neamut being driven from the city, has collected a body of cavalry, which, in Khorasan, are ever ready to rove in quest of plunder, and are at this time levying a general contribution on every village, caravan, and traveller, within his power or reach, not sparing even the pilgrims. After an ineffectual effort to enter the city, he solicited the assistance of Timur Shah, who sent a small army to join him, and besiege Muschid; but their knowledge of artillery is so limited, that the Afghans, after the campaign of a year, have only been enabled to straiten the supplies of the besieged.

When the extensive conquests of the Afghans in Persia are considered, the spacious empire which they have so recently founded, and their general reputation for military prowess, I felt a sensible disappointment at seeing their armies, composed of a tumultuous body, without order or common discipline. It is seen, however, that they were good soldiers under Ahmed Shah, who, himself a Prince of conspicuous military talent and a discerning patron of merit, was empowered to give his troops that force which they constitutionally possess. Yet even under this famed leader, the Afghans, impetuous and haughty, from the form of their government, were never an obedient soldiery; and the severe encounters which Ahmed Shah experienced from the Sicques, when he

\* Nadir Shah was assassinated at the age of sixty years, near Muschid, in the month of June 1747.

ultimately evacuated the Punjab, are attributed to the desertion of his troops, who, already enriched by the plunder of India, retired in large bodies to their own country.

Though far short of the opinion I had formed of it, the Afghan army is much superior to that of Persia at the present day, who long deprived of a monarch, and subjected either to a foreign yoke or the precarious authority of petty chieftains, have lost with their patriotism the spirit of enterprize. It appears that the Persians have been ever ill acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and that their grand successes were obtained by the formidable onset of their cavalry. Little other proof, indeed, is required of their want of skill, than a review of Nadir's long siege of Bagdad, which, though a fortification of mean tenability, baffled all his efforts. The match-lock-piece is the common weapon of a Persian foot soldier, except in the province of Auderbeijan, and in some parts of Shirvan and Dhaghistan, where the use of the spring-lock musket has been adopted from the Turks; but the ridicule which has been thrown on this practice by the body of the people, will probably long prevent its general introduction. The severity of the winter season has now obliged the Afghan army to retire into quarters, and afforded a temporary relief to the inhabitants of Muschid, who began to feel a want of provisions.

The young chief of this city, in defiance of the representations of his clergy, has coined into current specie such of those ornaments with which the ostentatious zeal of the Schiahs had for two centuries been decorating the tomb of Mooza Reza, as had been preserved from former depredations. Even Nadir, the avowed foe of priesthood, made his offering at the shrine of Muschid. But his descendant, fearing the whole fabric would fall into the unhallowed hands of his enemies, has wisely sacrificed a part to prevent a total destruction. Yet his efforts will probably be fruitless; for if the Afghans return to the siege, they will derive a considerable aid from the low state of the Muschid treasury, which I am informed is nearly consumed. While the priests inveigh with sufficient acrimony against the sacrilegious seizure of Nadir Mirza, there is no limit to their invectives against his brother, on whom they deprecate the severest divine vengeance, for calling in the inveterate foes of their religion, to the destruction of the only sacred city left in the possession of the sect of Ali.

On the 11th at Fidgeeroot, a small fort, three and a half fursungs, situated in a cultivated and generally a plain country, in whose vicinity are seen many fortified villages.

On the 12th at Dochabad, four and a half fursungs, a populous open village, protected by an adjoining fort, and distinguished by a manufacture of raw silk. The districts of Dochabad form the western boundary of the dominion of Timur Shah, which, in a direction from Kashmire to this place\*, occupy, by a gross computation, a space of ————— British miles. Were this spacious extent of territory governed by as vigorous and enterprising a Prince, as it is peopled by a brave and hardy race of men, the entire conquest of Persia would not be of difficult attainment. But Timur Shah inherits no portion of his father's genius, and his power is seldom seen or felt, except some object of wealth, and of safe accomplishment, be held out to his avarice. The existence of the Emperor is then felt, and, for the day, dreaded. Here I am checked by a fear that these opinions may be thought presumptuous and dogmatical, and that from slender opportunities of acquiring information, I have decided with an unwarrantable peremptoriness on the character of a Prince, in whose country I have been but a mere sojourner. I have only to urge, that the language which I have held, is prevalent

\* It is to be noted, that some petty chiefships, lying between Kashmire and the Indus, are held by independent Afghans.



in the country, and its truth strongly marked in all the operations of government, which come before the public eye.

On the 13th at Koot, six fursungs, a village dependent on the chief of Turshish. From the vicinity of Dochabad, a waste extends to this place, on which is neither an inhabitant, or the least token of vegetation; and it should seem that nature had interposed this barren land to preclude the assaults of war, and even discourage a disposition to social intercourse. To the north, extends a lofty chain of mountains covered with snow \*, and the other quarters shew a tract of land, thinly marked with craggy hills.

The proprietor of the camel on which I rode, had carried me to Koot, his place of residence, fearing to carry his wares, principally composed of rice, to the town of Turshish, lest the chief should take it at an arbitrary price. He told me that his cattle were not destined for that place, whither I might pursue my way in the best manner I liked, except on his camel. The fort of Turshish being at no greater distance than two miles, I would have proceeded without hesitation, could I have carried my baggage, which, though of little value, was too heavy a load for me. After much intreaty it was transported, at my charge, on the back of an afs †, to the karavansera at Turshish; there I found every apartment occupied; but the application of a small piece of money to the gate-keeper, who regulates the distribution of quarters, introduced me to a lodging, occupied by only one person. The stranger accosted me with evident tokens of joy, observing, that the solitary life he had passed at Turshish, was very tiresome to him, and that he expected a cordial relief from my company. This reception was happily adapted to my purpose, and promised my Mahometan character a fair introduction. It was agreed that a joint board should be kept, that my associate, yet weak from a late sickness, should prepare the victuals, and that I should furnish the water, and a laborious duty it was, there being no good water at a nearer distance than a mile.

Here I must inform you, that this was by no means a degrading duty, and is performed by travellers of a rank much superior to that I held, and also that few travellers in this country, of whatever condition, exhibit any appearance of wealth, fearing the oppressions of government, and the licentious exactions of the toll-gatherers. Even men of opulence do not carry a servant.

Previously to the commencement of a journey, societies are formed at a place of rendezvous, where the different offices are allotted to each; the most robust generally provide the water; some are employed in the kitchen, while others\* go in quest of provisions and provender for the cattle. Should no prior opportunity have offered to fix such a scheme, it is adjusted on the first halting day, and preserved on a cordial footing throughout the journey. It is not to be inferred that certain attentions are not also shewn to the men of rank, who attach themselves to these parties. When known, and they are soon distinguished, they become, by common consent, exempt from the more laborious occupations, and all aged persons are invariably treated with a respectful indulgence. My present companion, whose name I never knew or asked, was overcast with a fixed melancholy reserve: nor, could I extract from him other information, than that he had last come from Asterabad. But he studiously avoided giving me any

\* A road leads over these mountains to Muschid, which is said to be one hundred miles north-west from Turshish, and about thirty miles to the northward of Nishabor.

† The Persian asses are of a strong make, and much used by dealers in small and ordinary wares. I have seen the conveyance of large parties, consisting of those animals, which appear to be more active, and endure more fatigue than those of England.

intelligence of the affairs of that province, especially of the Russian trade there, which I much desired to know, and of which he must be informed; and though he seemed to like my company, or perhaps my assistance, he soon became to me an unpleasant colleague. In a few days, his departure to Herat left me sole tenant of a dark solitary lodging, with the advantage, and with the privilege of being unreservedly admitted into the society of the karavansera, as a pure Mahometan.

In the course of vacancies, I got possession of a more commodious apartment, in the corner of which I found, at first entrance, a decent looking old man smoking his pipe. On enquiry it appeared, that he was then wholly at large; but that his usual subsistence arose from vending certain spells, which were powerfully efficacious in conferring every species of worldly happiness, and consequently in the preclusion of all evil. Yet he was willing to shut up his book, he said, should any other prospect of maintenance be held out. This being the person I was in search of, I made him a cordial tender of my assistance, and invited him to a participation of my fare. The offer came to him, poor man, at a convenient season. It was now the depth of winter, and he honestly confessed to me, that his charms had so bad a run at Turkish, that even a scanty meal was earned with difficulty.

The mollah, which was the title he had derived from his professional skill, with a natural good temper, had acquired an accommodating disposition; he was all things to all men; and he found a full exercise of those qualities during our association. The little regularity I observed in our domestic system, especially in the hours of eating, was subject of frequent complaint to the mollah, who applied to the business of the kitchen, in which he had attained an eminent proficiency, with an active attention; nor was Sancho more attached to its produce; and he also reprehended my disregard to those dishes which he most favoured. His censure generally conveyed an ejaculation of surprize, at the neglect of a concern the most important to man, or at my bad taste, which he alledged, must have been vitiated in the course of my journeying through barbarous countries.

Having enjoyed during my acquaintance with this mollah so many conveniencies, and so pleasing a quiet of mind, I often review the scene with sensible emotions of pleasure. For my strength, as well as my spirits, had been much exhausted by the fatigues of the road, and various molestations necessarily incident to a traveller of my description. The cold being intense, and the country covered with snow, it became expedient, in the first instance, to lay in a stock of fuel, which is a dear commodity at Turkish, that we might, at least, communicate an external heat to our bodies; for our creed precluded any interior cordial, nor durst we even mention its name. But we were moderately recreated by a wholesome diet, large fires, a clean hearth, with plenty of Persian tobacco, which is of a most excellent kind\*. When I have contemplated the progress of my associate in his culinary occupation, in mixing with care and earnestness the ingredients of a hodge-podge, stirring it vigorously with a large wooden spoon, blowing and arranging the fire, till his eyes were red, I have been prompted to compare him to a Prussian serjeant, immersed in the fury and enthusiasm of drilling a squad of recruits, and cudgelling into their bodies all the ability of their brains. Nor could one of our minute virtuosos have been more inflated with pride at the discovery of a new species of snail, than the mollah, in demonstrating the qualities of some favourite dish.

\* That produced at Tubbus, a town about one hundred miles to the south-west of Turkish, is esteemed the best in Persia.



The excellent services of my companion now left me at liberty to walk about the town, collect information, and frequent the public baths. In the evening we were always at home, when the mollah, at the conclusion of our meal, either read a story of Yufuff and Zuleicha, which he did but lamely, or opening his book of spells, he would expound the virtues of his nostrums, which embraced so wide a compass, that few diseases of the mind or body could resist their force. They extended from recalling to the paths of virtue, the steps of a frail wife, and silencing the tongue of a scolding one, to curing chilblains and destroying worms. His practice, he told me, had been more extensive than profitable, being chiefly employed by the lower classes of people; the rich rarely sought his aid. He was meditating, he said, which I had now obviated, a journey to Muschid, where he would have been enabled to pass the winter, a season always of anxious care to him; as for the summer he never bestowed a thought on it.

The duty of religion sat rather loosely on the mollah, for out of the five daily prayers\*, he usually struck off four, and on many days the omission was total. But observing that I was yet more relaxed, he would gravely censure my negligence; not that I was degraded in his opinion, but it was necessary, he said, to maintain a decorum of manners, that the people of the karavansera might not make unfavourable remarks. The spirit and tendency of the mollah's observation, when impartially considered, discloses the grand tenure by which the religion of Mahomet is at this day held. It is on the daily recital of five prayers†, washing as often, and a restriction from a certain food, that the Mahometan builds his hope of Paradise. And the reputation of such a person, in Persia, is equal to that of our men of virtue, honour, and humanity. Even to that of our man of fashion.

On the other side, he that shall neglect these ceremonies, though he may execute, to an ample extent, the duties of a good citizen, is branded with the general mark of contumely; and should his condition of life not be sufficiently eminent to command respect, he is cut off from many of the benefits of society. That I may point out to you more especially the opinion of a Mahometan on the essential efficacy of forms, I am induced to relate an observation of the mollah. In speaking of an Afghan, who had himself access to the karavansera by an agreeable and friendly disposition, he said, that he willingly subscribed to the compass of his moral merits, but was sorry to see them vitiated by offering up his prayers with folded hands. Does it not astonish you, that the mind of a creature so exquisitely formed by the great Lord of nature, should have become so strongly fettered by the shackles of prejudice, should have formed ideas so derogatory of his infinite benevolence, as to be fearful of approaching his altar but in certain positions and flexions of the body?

Travelling once with some Persians on a sultry day, and over an ill-watered country, the party unexpectedly approached a small stream, where, hastily dismounting, I drank a cup of water with avidity, one of the Persians who stood near me, cried out in an earnest tone, while I was finishing the draught, to reserve a little in the bottom of the vessel, and throw it on the ground with an execration on the memory of

\* The first, a short one, is said before the break of day; the second on the earliest appearance of light, a period usually denominated the Wokt Nemaz, or time of prayer; the third about two hours before sunset; the fourth at the close of the evening, this is also termed the Wokt Nemaz; and the fifth in the course of the night. The second and fourth prayers are most regularly observed.

† I have seen grave long-bearded Mahometans, retire a few steps from the exhibition of a lascivious dance, and in the same apartment kneel to their prayers, which hastily muttering, they returned to the amusement.

Yezid \*. On seeing that not a drop remained, he viewed me with evident marks of detestation, and pronounced me a *kaufir*. But Persia has long lost her men of genius and philanthropy. The day of Ferdousi, Sadi, and Hafiz, is set in barbarous darkness; and little else is now written or listened to, except the legends of priests, or the chimerical exploits of the twelve Imaums, which nearly quadrate in style and matter with our renowned nursery histories of Tom Thumb, or Jack the Giant-killer; though with a more pernicious effect; for the Persian writings strongly tend to eternise amongst them a rancorous hatred to all those of a different creed.

It is recorded that the cotemporaries of Hafiz were so much offended at his bold disquisitions on the religion of the Koran, and witty strictures on the loose conduct of the clergy, that at his death they hesitated to perform the usual obsequies. Yet the latter Persians have not only acquitted Hafiz of any charge of irreligion, though almost every page of the poet refutes the position, but they assert, that under the cloak of his sportive, pleasurable exhortations, he describes the excellency of their faith, and the future happiness of pious Mahometans.

While the mollah and I were enjoying the comforts of a commodious apartment, and savoury messes, made in rotation, of beef, mutton, and camel's flesh, on a sudden, every room of the *karavansera* was tumultuously filled by a large body of pilgrims † from the shrine of Muschid. What an exuberance of zeal must have animated these devotees! which neither so distant and perilous a journey could deter, or the inclement season of the year cool. The present winter was accounted more rigorous than had been for some years remembered, particularly in the quarter of Muschid and Nishabor, where two of these pilgrims had perished in the snow, and others had lost their limbs by the severity of the frost.

In that band, which rushed into our apartment, was a person who seemed to take the avowed lead; he was better equipped than his associates, and wore on his head the insignia of a *hadji* §; a pilgrim, who supplied the place of a servant, began to reconnoitre the room, and as soon as he noticed its situation, he dislodged, without ceremony, and with much facility, from one of its corners, the very portable chattles of our poor mollah; and in the voice of authority, declared the place assigned to the use of the *hadji*, whom he represented to be of superior rank and importance.

The *hadji* took his seat with a solemn air, and looking haughtily round he threw his eyes on me, and immediately asked, or rather demanded my name and business. The question was conveyed in a manner which fully evinced the power of the interrogator; indeed I quickly saw, from the party's deference to him, the necessity of observing a respectful conduct to this superb Mahometan. I told him that I was an Arab, travelling to Muschid; but judge of my confusion, when the *hadji* began to speak in my supposed language. Endeavouring to suppress my embarrassment at so complete a conviction of falsity, I observed, that I had assumed the name of an Arab, for the purpose of travelling with more safety; but that I was a native of Kashmire, proceeding on a mercantile concern to Mazanderan. Such stories, which in the east may be described by the smoother term, simulation, are in common use among Asiatic travellers; and unless other testimony corroborates their relations, little credit is given, nor is much expected. It is sufficient that their true story remains concealed.

\* The chief who slew Husseyn the son of Ali.

† They were chiefly inhabitants of Tabrid, the ancient Taurus, I believe, a town in the province of Anderbeijan.

§ In Persia it is a strip of cloth, commonly green, rolled on the edge of the cap.



This emendation of my account produced no apparent surprize, nor any further interrogation; and from the mode of the hadji's behaviour, it was evident that I had not suffered in his opinion. The last year of my life had been occupied in an invaried scene of disguise, with a language wholly fabricated to preserve it; so that, God forgive me, I never wanted a ready tale for current use. I have now only to hope, that when it may be no longer expedient to support the part hitherto so successfully maintained, I shall be enabled to throw off the cloak with all its garniture for ever. The hadji was a resident of Balfrosh, the principal town of Mazanderan, where he maintained a considerable traffic; he had joined the Tabrez pilgrims at Muschid, and was now on the way back to his own province. The occasion of accompanying this party was not to be foregone; as few roads are of more dangerous passage, than that from Turshish to the Caspian sea, and consequently not much frequented. The hadji, to whom I applied for a passage to Balfrosh, affected to lay various obstacles in my way, and seeing my anxiety to proceed, he made his bargain conformably, that is, he stipulated for a double amount of the usual hire.

The territory of Turshish, which takes in about ——— miles from east to west, and nearly half that space in latitudinal direction, is held by Abedullah, an independent Persian chief; he seems to be forty years of age, has a respectable appearance, and assumes that air of gravity which strongly pervades the manners of the high classes of Mahometans. His administration is well liked by the people, who seem to act and speak very much at their ease. Passengers are never interrogated, nor is a passport required.

Adjoining to old Turshish, called also Sultanabad, which is of small compass, and surrounded with a wall, Abedullah has built a new town, in an angle of which stands the karavansera, the only one I have seen in Persia, which is not interiorly supplied with water. The chief and his officers reside in the new quarter, where is also held the market, which the inhabitants say has not been so well supplied since the Afghan troops have laid waste the districts of Muschid, and thereby impeded the traffic of this quarter of Khorasan.

The trade of Turshish arises chiefly from the import of indigo and other dyes from the westward, woollen cloths and rice, which is scantily produced in the vicinity, from Herat. And the chief article of export seems to be iron, wrought in thick plates. The small quantity of European cloths required at Turshish is brought from Mazanderan, by the way of Shahroot, or from Ghilan, by the way of the great road of Yezd. About one hundred Hindoo families, from Moulton and Jessilmere, are established in this town, which is the extreme limit of their emigration on this side of Persia; they occupy a quarter in which no Mahometan is permitted to reside, and where they conducted business without molestation or insult: and I was not a little surprized to see those of the Bramin sect, distinguished by the appellation of Peerzadah, a title which the Mahometans usually bestow on the descendants of their prophet. Small companies of Hindoos are also settled at Muschid, Yezd; Kachan, Casbin, and some parts of the Caspian shore; and more extensive societies in the different towns of the Persian Gulph, where they maintain a navigable commerce with the western coast of India.

The departure of our kafilah now drawing near, the hadji purchased a horse for my conveyance, with the money which I had advanced; but not thinking my weight and baggage a sufficient burthen for the animal, by no means a robust one, he added two heavy parcels of dyeing stuffs, on which I was to be seated. This was the most rapacious Mahometan I had yet known; not satisfied with the first extortion, he urged me,

without intermission, for a loan of money, even the most trifling sum; in other words, he wanted to cheat me. There are, I believe, few such men amongst us as Hadji Mahomed. He had the reputation of being an opulent merchant, and he was connected with persons of the first rank in his country; his deportment was grave and dignified; his manners in common intercourse were so forcibly insinuating, that he never failed to please, even those who knew and had experienced his ill qualities; he had, on the ostensible score of devotion, made pilgrimages in Arabia, Turkey, and Persia; he prayed with undeviating regularity five times in the day, besides a long roll of supererogatory orisons. Yet this man of property and rank, of polite manners, and professed sanctity, having in vain aimed at a larger sum, importuned me in abject language to lend or give him half-a-crown. But my feelings having become callous, from a long association, I suppose, with those who had none, I was enabled to withstand, with intrepid coolness, the intreaties of the hadji, who seemed to take the refusal nothing amiss; indeed, I imagine, he accounted me a person of discretion, and conversant in the business of the world.

That I might the better guard against a suspicion of the character I represented, especially in the mind of the hadji, who to his other acquirements united insatiable inquisitiveness, I told him that I was a Sooni, imagining that the low estimation in which this sect is held in Persia, would prevent further notice. The hadji did not approve of this character, which was rarely seen, and much abhorred in this part of the country; nor would it be safe for a Sooni, he said, to travel in the society of Schiah pilgrims, who, elevated by their late purification at Muschid, would assume a merit of insulting and ill treating me.

By the council of Hadji Mahomed I became a Schiah, and was received among the pilgrims without a scruple. It was, believe me, with no little concern, that I parted from the mollah, who had been to me as useful as well as a pleasant companion; and in the unreserved intercourse which had for some days subsisted between us, I experienced a pleasure, the more sensible, as my situation before had been solitary and irksome. In his dealings, I found him punctually honest, for conceiving an attachment to this harmless conjuror, I used to make enquiries at the places where he made his purchases for me, but never discovered a false charge.

On the morning of the 28th of December, left Turkhish, and about noon arrived at the village of Killeelabad, two and a half fursungs. Our party, consisting of about six or seven persons, the Tabrez having not yet joined, halted at a small karavansera, where being plentifully supplied with fuel by one of the villagers, to whom our hadji was known, we passed a cold snowy night very comfortably.

On the 29th, at Hadjiabad, a small fort, three fursungs. When the chief of this place was informed that Hadji Mahomed was our leader, for though of a distant province, he was well known in Khorasan, we were invited to the fort, and hospitably entertained.

This day my horse gave many tokens of inability to support the heavy burthen that had been laid upon him. He eat little, sweated much, and often stumbled. In one of his inclinations, I was thrown from my elevated seat, with a violent shock, and received a violent contusion on the hand. Instead of expressing any concern at the disaster, the hadji sharply reprehended my want of skill, and predicted ill success to my undertakings.

At Hadjiabad the pomegranates are of a delicious flavour, a property indeed of this fruit in most parts of Persia. It has a thin soft skin, and contains a large quantity of juice, than which nothing, in hot weather, or after fatigue, can be more grateful.



There is a species of the pomegranate, in Persia, and also in Afghanistan, whose granules are without seed, called the Redana \* ; it is of a superior kind, and generally scarce.

On the 30th, at Nowblehuckum, three fursungs, a large and populous village, where our party was joined by the Tabrez pilgrims. From Turkish to this place, the general direction of the road lay about west ; the country is open and well cultivated, but like the eastern division of Khorasan, scantily supplied with wood and running water. At this place, my endeavour to procure a stock of wheat bread, to support me during a three or four days' journey over a desert, which lay in the road, was wholly fruitless. The number of applicants for a like provision was so great, and their arguments, from the late meritorious service they had performed, was so much more efficacious than mine, that I was obliged to rest satisfied with a few barley cakes.

Being thrown, by a sort of chance, for the two last days, into the company of a Ghilan seid, who had been making the pilgrimage of Muschid, we agreed after a short preliminary, to place in a common stock our provisions and good offices. Man, you know, of all created beings, is the least fitted, and the least desirous to live alone. It is true, that if not sunk by vice, or fascinated by dissipation, he will occasionally fly from the fatigues of business, the rapid hurry of crowds, and seeking the shade of retirement, solace and exercise his intellectual faculties. But when he has breathed out his day of contemplation, he is often seen returning from the world he fled from, with a fond solicitude. It is not for me to expatiate on the pleasures and uses of society, the subject has for ages fallen under the most extensive and erudite discussion ; nor can the pen of a journalist give it additional lustre. I will now only observe, that after a tedious fatiguing journey, it was with a high relish I sat down to a homely meal with the seid, whose remarks and singular opinions on the subject of religion, never failed to give amusement and information.

On the 31st, at Durroona, seven fursungs, a small village, situate near the western boundary of the territory of Abedullah ; the road led, in a western direction, through a barren country. In crossing a steep rivulet, during this day's journey, my horse precipitated me, with hadji's bags of dye, into the middle of it, where we were discovered lying by this now enraged Mahometan. He smote his beard until his anger found utterance, when he poured on me a torrent of abuse ; and charging his ill-fortune to my scandalous omission of the stated prayers of a Mussulman, he declared that I should indemnify the loss of his paint to the last farthing.

On the 1st of January 1784, having travelled eight fursungs through a desert, which was interspersed with low hills, and a thin scattering wood, we halted on an eminence, where the snow which covered it supplied our water. My horse became so much enfeebled, that he was unable to carry me with the other part of his load ; and I should have been left on the ground, had not some of the passengers, who were apprized of the extraordinary sum which I had paid for hire, warmly expostulated with the hadji on the injustice of his conduct. Somewhat abashed at the remonstrance, and fearful, perhaps, of a more general attack on the many weak sides of his character, the hadji procured a horse from a person who was proceeding two stages on our road, and who, for a small gain, consented to dismount and incur an excessive fatigue.

The domestic associate of Hadji Mahomed having seen his patron treat me with neglect and often with rudeness, thought that he might with impunity indulge a like spirit ; but seeing no reason to shew him the respect which I observed to the hadji, I was provoked this evening to give him a smart chastisement, and in the English manner ; a species of attack as novel to him as it was efficacious, and which surprized the pilgrims,

who bestowed on me a general applause. In this occurrence you will perceive the essential advantages of my Mahometan character: for, in my real one, no affront, however insolent or opprobrious, could have warranted any active resentment; the only resource would have been a silent patience; it is, indeed, often necessary to assuage the offender's wrath, to avert a further outrage. The penalty that would probably be inflicted on a Christian hardy enough to lift his hand, in this part of Persia, against a Mahometan, would be a heavy fine, or severe corporeal punishment.

The Armenians, who visit most of the quarters of western Asia, are seldom seen on this road, dreading equally the inimical disposition and inveterate prejudices of the inhabitants to all those of a different faith, and the incursions of the Turkoman Tartars.

On the 2d, at Towrone, five fursungs, a small fortified village, situate in the districts of Ismael Khan, an independent chief, who also claims the desert, extending from Deronne to this place: nor is it probable that the property will ever be disputed. Many travellers, it is said, have perished in this track, from the intense heats, and a scarcity of water, which, in the course of the first stage, is procured but in one spot, by digging small wells.

We learned that a party of fifty Turkoman horse had yesterday passed under the walls of Towrone, in the way to their own country. These fierce free-booters, who wage a common war on the Persians, enslave as well as plunder those who fall into their hands. To prevent an escape, the captives are sent into the interior parts of the country, where they are employed in tending the numerous droves of cattle and horses with which Tartary abounds. They are also occasionally sold to the Kalmucks, the most rude and savage of all the Tartar race\*. A slavery with these is spoken of with horror, and accounted worse than death. The Turkomans of this day are a tribe of no important note; and their military operations are directed chiefly to the attack of karavans and defenceless villages. They are no longer that great and powerful people which produced a Zinjis and a Timur, the conquerors of Asia, whose posterity were seen in this country, seated on the most splendid throne of the world. It is now received as a general position of history, that those immense bodies of soldiers which spread over and ultimately subdued the dominion of Rome, under the names of Goths and Vandals, were the Tartars of Bochara, Kheiva, and the shores of the Caspian. The present chief of the Turkoman tribe resides at Bochara, where he keeps a moderate court, and exercises a very limited power. The Tartars of the more eastern regions, the modern conquerors of China, who may be ranged under the common designation of Kalmucks and Monguls, are divided into various roving herds, and would seem to be no longer a cause of dread to the southern nations of Asia.

\* One of the names of a native of Tartary, in the language of his country, is Tatter, and Tattaur. Having often indulged a curiosity in searching for the etymology of Asiatic names, which, though not tending to the development of any important facts, may reflect subordinate lights, I have been induced to insert them in this place.

The term Ferung, or Ferringhee, a name commonly applied at this day among most of the nations of Asia, except the Chinese, seems to be derived from Frank, an appellation by which the Crusade Christians were indiscriminately described by the inhabitants of Asia Minor.

Saracen, one of the names formerly given to the people of Arabia, may, on a ground fair enough, be deduced from Sahara, which, in the Arabic, signifies a desert, and may, with equal propriety, be given to the inhabitant of a barren region, as the term Highlander, among us, to the resident of a mountainous country; and I am the more induced to adopt the probable truth of this derivation, as it was pointed out to me by the most accurate scholar (the present Archbishop of York) of our country.

The Mahometan subjects of the Ottoman empire are known in Europe by the common name of Turks, which immediately accords with one of the grand designations used by the Tartars, who wrested that region from the Arabian khalifat; and a cause of a similar nature has probably induced many of the Hindoo traders to apply the same denomination to the Mahometans of India.



Preparing this morning to proceed, I could neither find the horse I had ridden yesterday, nor its master, who it appeared had proceeded alone, an hour before the departure of the party. The road being covered with a deep snow, it was with great fatigue and exertion I could overtake the deserter, who frankly said, that he was apprehensive of not being paid by the hadji, but, that if I would answer for the payment of the hire, I might immediately mount his steed. The adjustment being speedily made, I rode on to Towrone; from whence I sent back this same person, on whom money had irresistible force, to bring the hadji's tired horse, which, I learned from some of the passengers, was scarcely able to crawl. Fearful of being altogether abandoned by Hadji Mahomed, I found it necessary to speak to him in unreserved language, which was strongly supported by a Persian merchant, whose notice I had acquired, and, after much opposition, became successful.

On the 3d, the kafilah halted in a desert, eight fursongs, at a small stream, the only water seen in the course of this day's journey; the Ghilan seid and I had filled our bottle for mutual use, and the bread, cheese, and onions, which supplied our evening meal, giving me a violent thirst, I made frequent applications to our water stock. The seid, seeing that I had taken more than a just portion, required that the residue should be reserved for his ceremonial ablutions.

While the seid retired to pray, I went in search of fuel, and returning first to our quarter, I hastily drank off the remaining water, and again betook myself to wood-cutting, that I might not be discovered near the empty vessel by my associate, who had naturally an irascible temper. When I supposed he had returned from his prayer, I brought in a large load of wood, which I threw on the ground with an air of great fatigue, and of having done a meritorious service. — "Aye," says he, "while I, like a true believer, have been performing my duty to God, and you toiling to procure us firing for this cold night, some hardened kaur, who I wish may never drink again in this world, has plundered the pittance of water which was set apart for my ablutions." He made strict search among our neighbours for the perpetrator of this robbery, as he termed it; but receiving no satisfactory information, he deliberately delivered him or them to the charge of every devil in the infernal catalogue, and went grumbling to sleep.

On the 4th, at Khanahoody, eight fursongs, a fortified and populous village, the residence of Ismael Khan, who possesses a small independent territory in this quarter. The road from Towrone led in a western direction, through a desert track, interspersed with low and bare hills.

About three miles to the eastward of Khanahoody, a chain of mountains, of the medium altitude, extends in a north and south direction, whose western face is considerably higher than that to the eastward. This branch of hills, which seem to have a long scope, has effected a grand change in the course of the running waters. The streams on the western side have a south-west current, and flow, I imagine, into the Caspian Sea, or into the head of the Gulf of Persia, while those on the eastern side are probably carried to the more southern shores of the Gulf.

From the summit of the Khanahoody hills, is seen, to the west and north-west, a wide extended plain, thickly covered with villages and arable lands; nor does a rising ground in this direction interrupt the utmost scope of the eye. Here I must note, that this quarter of Persia has now assumed its most unfavourable appearance; it being the depth of winter, when little vegetation is seen on the ground, and not a leaf on the trees. This day died an old man of our party, who had been long ailing; and what was rather singular, his death happened while he was on horseback.

On the 5th, at Bearjumund, three furlongs, a populous village in the districts of Ismael Khan. Halted on the 6th, on account of the sickness of our kafilah director. Two of the pilgrims, who were carpenters, made a litter for him, which was furnished with poles like a sedan, and carried by two mules, one of which was yoked before, and the other behind the seat.

On the 7th, at Nafirabad, nine furlongs, a small fortress in ruins, situate on an eminence. We passed at about midway through two uninhabited villages near each other, Kow and Kauff, noted places of rendezvous of the Turkoman banditti, and standing on one of the grand roads from Persia to Tartary. On approaching Nafirabad, I observed numerous bones of a large size strewed on the ground, and which I learned were the remains of some of the elephants of Nadir Shah, who had ordered them to be sent into the southern provinces, where the warmth of climate is better adapted to the health of those animals: but many of them died on the journey.

Persia, since its empire has been rent into pieces, has suffered severe devastations, and has been grievously depopulated. The various petty chiefs, who hold themselves but the ruler of a day, are often incited to oppress the inhabitants, and impose heavy taxes on the merchant; yet these exactions might receive some alleviation, did the governors exert any active efforts in defending their districts from the depredations of the Tartars, who, even in parties of a hundred, are scouring the country from Muschid to the Caspian Sea; and in the course of this last year, a body of them, less than a thousand, had penetrated to the environs of Isfahan. Such acts of unrestrained violence, marked with every species of barbarity, will point out some of the evils which have at this day overwhelmed Persia, which must remain sunk in this inglorious obscurity, until some future hero shall destroy the present pigmy race, and raising the structure of a new empire, shall collect its strength, and impart to it vigorous action.

All the towns, villages, and even the smallest hamlets in the northern division of Persia, though but at the distance of half a mile from each other, are surrounded with walls, which seem to have been erected more as a shelter against domestic robbery and private feuds, than the assault of an enemy. In considering the perpetual alarms, solicitude, and machinations, which must necessarily agitate the inhabitants of this region, we are at a loss whether to consider them more as objects of reproach for the depravity of their manners, or of pity, at viewing the state of national debasement, to which they have been precipitated by the declension of their empire.

On the 8th, at Shahroot, also called Bustan, four furlongs, a small but populous town. From Nowblehuckum, the road lay about west to Towrone, whence it had, I apprehend, a west-by-north direction to Shahroot\*. The horse which I had hired from the hadji to carry me to Mazanderan, having died this day, I was detained on the road to take care of my little chattels, which must have been lost, had not some of my kafilah acquaintances each conveyed a portion, though their horses were much jaded.

Passing over a fertile well-watered plain, which surrounds, to a wide space, the town of Shahroot, I came late in the evening to the karavansera, where I found the Ghilan seid in possession of an apartment, which he had taken for our joint use. The cold was here extremely intense, and had reached the point which the Persians, with a peculiar force of expression, term the Zerb Zimmistan, the stroke of winter. The snow fell thickly about us, and the piercing north wind made every creature shrink from its blast; nor were there many cordials at hand to qualify these rigours.

\* The Tabrez pilgrims left Shahroot, about five miles to the right or westward, and proceeded towards their own country by the way of Simna and Casbin.



Firing is scarcer here than in any part of Khorasan ; it is of a bad quality for fuel, and much of it is of a green wood. Our lodging had no aperture but the door, which the *seid*, to screen himself from the cold, kept shut ; nor could my most earnest intreaty obtain any opening for the discharge of the smoke. The only material differences indeed existing between us, arose from this, and another despotic arrangement of the *seid*, which used to cause some warm debates.

It was my business, being the more active member, to purchase and bring in fuel, and before day-light, to procure water and a light to warm the *seid*, and enable him to perform the ablution preparatory to prayer, an omission of which he would have dreaded as the precursor of some dire calamity. The *seid* consented to kindle the fire, an office which I could never perform without suffering acute pain in my eyes from the smoke. Thus were our labours, on principles fair enough, mutually divided ; but when we came to enjoy the fruits of it, this descendant of his prophet, wrapped in a large cloak made of sheep skins, would take so unaccommodating a post at, or rather over our small fire, which was in a manner embraced by the extended skirts of his garment, that I received no warmth ; and I should not have known that a fire was in the room, but for a profusion of smoke. I never remember to have suffered so much inconveniency from the cold ; nor could all my wardrobe, heaped at once on my body, keep me from shivering. My anger would often break out to an extreme height at the *seid*'s total seizure of the fire-place, and excited very impassioned language : but which he never failed to allay, by setting forth, that he was old and infirm, that he had foregone all his domestic comforts, which were many, to visit, in the depth of winter, a distant shrine, and that in consideration of a deed so meritorious, and also of his holy descent, it was my duty to assist and indulge his wants.

My disposition towards him, and a knowledge of most of the facts set forth, made his arguments unanswerable ; and in return for the surrender of the hearth, I was invited to Ghilan, where he promised to give me a wife out of his family, and suitable provision for my maintenance. Such was the ordinary result of our bickerings, and it always tended to make the connection more cordial. In my little disputes on the road, the *seid* gave me vigorous support, and when any particular enquiry was made about my person, which it sometimes produced, he would immediately assert that I belonged to him. I have been received as his son, by those who only knew us *en passant* ; nor did our appearance discredit the belief, for we were naturally of a fine complexion, of the same stature, with greyish eyes.

At Shahroot we were frequently visited by a Mazanderan shoemaker\*, the most effervescent zealot that ever counted his beads or entered a mosque. Having thrown aside his tools and committed the shop to the management of his wife, he had laid out the greatest portion of his property on a horse, and a large koran, and made the grand tour of all the celebrated pilgrimages in Persia. But he grievously lamented that the narrow state of his fortunes would not permit a visitation at the holy tomb of his prophet, which only could make his death easy, and his assurance of heaven well founded. Exclusive of the ordained prayers, he practised many of a subsidiary quality, which might be termed the half notes of supplication, and these were incessantly whined out with a deep nasal tone, and sometimes when his spirit was violently agitated, he would discharge them with a bellow, as if he meant to batter down the gates of Paradise by storm.

\* The Persian shoemaker is not, as in India, of the lowest ranks of the people, but classes among the most reputable tradesmen of his country.



This shoemaker was a little man, extremely irascible, and though immersed in devotion, he did not shew the smallest remission in the management of his temporal concerns. In an altercation with the seid, about the adjustment of a very small account, not more than three half-pence, a furious contest arose which terminated wholly in favour of the shoemaker, his language, which run with an obstreperous fluency, stunned and greatly terrified my companion, who hearing himself in a breath called Christian, Jew, and Infidel, fled from the combat with precipitancy. This said shoemaker, by an ill-timed intrusion, had discovered me taking some money out of my purse; and immediately retiring, declared to all the people of the karavansera, that the kashmiry, my travelling name at that time, was possessed of a large treasure in gold and diamonds, which he himself had seen.

Such a discovery in a country governed even by the most salutary laws, might have endangered my property and person, but in this quarter of the world, where a man's throat is often cut for the fee simple of his cloak, it placed me in imminent peril. But the chain of favourable events, little strengthened by my own merits, which had propitiously conducted me from the banks of the Ganges, through many an unhospitable track, still continued to lead me on safely.

Having no important matter to lay before you, I must extend my egotisms, and inform you that Hadji Mahomed, having now arrived in the territory of the Mazanderan chief, by whom he was favoured, threw off all reserve; he plainly told me, that, instead of looking to him for a future conveyance, I should think myself fortunate in not being charged with the price of his horse, and the damage done to his wares. Seeing him equally empowered as disposed to do me an injury, I cheerfully cancelled my engagements with him, on the proviso of obtaining his protection during the journey to Mazanderan.

Shahroot, with its independent districts, including Nasirabad, pertains properly, I believe, to the Khorasan division, though it now holds of Asterabad\*, which with Mazanderan and Hazaan-Tirreeb is governed by Aga Mahomed Khan, one of the most important chiefs now remaining in Persia. The town of Shahroot is small and surrounded in some parts with a slight earthen wall. The houses, from a want of wood, are built of unburnt bricks, and covered with a flat arch of the same materials.

Many people are seen in this vicinity, whose noses, fingers, and toes, have been destroyed by the frost, which is said to be severer at Shahroot than any part of Persia. The principal traffic of this district arises from the export of cotton, unwrought and in thread, to Mazanderan; and the returns from thence are made in Russian bar-iron and steel, a little broad-cloth, chiefly of Dutch manufacture, copper and cutlery. Sugar, from its high price, being rarely used by the lower class of Persians, they have adapted to its purposes a syrup called Sheerah, made of the inspissated juice of grapes; but it seemed to be of an irritating and inflammable quality: and most of them mix with their food the expressed juice of the four pomegranate, which makes a high flavoured and salubrious acid.

On the 17th of January I joined a cotton kafilah, and proceeded to Dhey† Mollah, a small walled village, four furlongs. The horse which I had hired at Shahroot was strong and well paced, and promised to be a very valuable acquisition, as a great part of the Mazanderan road lies over a mountainous country, covered with forests, and intersected by rapid streams.

\* Shahroot lies about one hundred miles to the eastward of the town of Asterabad.

† Dhey in the Persian, signifies a village.



At Dheh Mollah, the feid and I were entertained with cordial hospitality; a benefit wholly ascribed to the inherent and contingent virtues of my companion, who from descent, as well as his late arduous pilgrimage, had a two-fold claim on the benevolence of his countrymen. I should be deficient indeed in ordinary gratitude, did I not feel the kind offices of this feid, who smoothed the many inconveniences which often crossed my way, and procured for me accommodations not attainable by common travellers. The fruits of this village, some of which were yet fresh, are in great estimation, particularly the pomegranate, which is not inferior to that of Hadjiabad. This quarter of Persia produces a variety of vegetables, as cabbages, carrots, peas, and turnips; the latter of an excellent kind, and composes, in the season, a principal portion of the food of the inhabitants.

On the 18th, at Tauck, a small fort, five and a half fursungs. This day an intense frost, which had congealed all the standing water, kept me shivering with cold during the first part of the journey. About eight miles to the south-east of Tauck, stands, on a spacious plain, the town of Dumgam, whose lofty minarets are seen at a great distance. This plain has become famous, in the latter annals of Persia, for a victory obtained by Nadir Shah, before the period of his sovereignty over the Afghan Ashruff, who then held possession of Ispahan. The battle, which was severe but decisive, twelve of thirty thousand Afghans being, it is said, either killed or taken, advanced Nadir high in the estimation of Shah Thamas, who was present in the action. As a distinguished mark of his favour, and one of the most honourable which the Persian princes used to confer on a subject, he permitted Nadir to be denominated the royal slave, by the title of Thamas Kuli\*.

It would afford me a sensible pleasure, were I enabled to point out to you any monuments of the former grandeur and magnificence of the Persian empire, which has been seen to run a long course of glory, and to often combat with success the legions of Rome; yet where are now the Roman eagles that were wont to stun the world with the cry of victory? Where are now the steeled bands of Persia, who insulted the corse of a Roman general and exhibited a captive Cæsar, as a gazing stock to barbarous nations? They have been smote by the destructive hand of time, which points with derision at their puny race, and at the instability of human power. It is in the south of Persia, where the relics of its ancient grandeur are to be sought, but even there, the mis-shapen ruins of Babylon and Persepolis faintly mark the pristine grandeur and costly taste of its princes.

The upper provinces, though affording the grand supply of brave and hardy soldiers, were rarely visited by the luxurious monarchs of Persia, who, dreading the bleak air and barren aspect of the north, established their residence in milder climates, whither they carried the improvements of knowledge, and the refinements of art. Among the institutions best fitted to give permanency to the Persian empire, were it invested with individual sovereignty, policy would urge the removal of its capital to Khorasan, famous for the salubrity of its air, and the military ability of its inhabitants. Its situation is also well adapted for checking the incursions of the Tartar and Afghan nations; and it possesses a city†, held by the Persians in enthusiastic reverence.

Ispahan and Shiraz, seated in the centre of a country enjoying a soft serenity of air, and replete with the various incitements to luxury, must soon enervate their inhabitants, and promote the influence of corruption. The Persians say, that Kareem Khan, one

\* This event, which is mentioned in Frazer's account of Nadir Shah, happened in the year 1729.

† Muschid.



of the late chiefs of the southern provinces was often urged by his officers to carry his arms into Khorasan, a conquest which would necessarily have given him the supreme dominion of Persia; but, though brave and enterprising, he had too long indulged in the pleasures of Shiraz, and used to palliate his reluctance to the proposed expedition, by observing that, after the long and dangerous siege of a small fort, nothing would be found in it but a few bags of chopped straw for his horse. Yet he must have been aware that Khorasan would have reinforced his army with those soldiers who empowered Nadir to expel the Turks and Afghans from Persia, and overthrow the empire of India. The northern regions were long the nursery of a hardy and predatory militia, who, from their bleak plains and mountains, were wont to pour their force upon the nations of the south, but who, in their turn, felt the force of fiercer and more barbarous tribes, until continued emigrations wasted the stock, and withheld the power of foreign conquest.

On the 19th at Killautau, five and half fursungs, an open village situate on the declivity of a hill. This day's journey led over a gradual ascent, interspersed with low wood, and scattered spaces of arable land. This being the last station on the road where bread is to be procured on the east side of the Mazanderan limits, I procured a necessary supply.

On the 20th at Killausir, five and a half fursungs, a range of ruined buildings, on an eminence, a mile's distance to the northward of the small village of Hirroos. The proprietor of my horse, a carrier, went out of the road from this place to visit his family residence, and wished much to carry me with him; the deviation from our track being but short, I had consented to the proposal, and was about turning into the path which led to his village, when Hadji Mahomed arrived and prevented me.

As this was among the very few marks of goodness which I experienced from the hadji, to notice it is but simple justice to his character, of which, perhaps, you are already impressed with an ill opinion. Taking me aside, he enjoined me, in a manner which evinced an honest concern, not, on any pretence, to proceed to the carrier's village; that the story of the shoemaker had circulated a general belief of my great wealth, and that the carriers had been heard in concerting schemes to rob, and even destroy me; that if such was their design, there were few actions, he observed, however atrocious, which these men would not perpetrate when plunder was the object; and that the situation of the village, which was detached, and inhabited only by their families, would equally facilitate the purpose, as preclude a discovery.

This representation determined me against leaving the party; but having before consented to accompany the carrier, to whom the cause of the refusal could not be assigned, I imposed the task upon the hadji, who immediately making it his own business, told the carrier, in a stern tone, that, as I was under his charge, he would not permit me to be separated from him. Though the carrier continued to urge his purpose by a long and strenuous argument, he was over-ruled by the hadji, who, by some degree of compulsion, consigned my horse to the charge of another person. As we rode on, the hadji congratulated my near escape from a combination which must have been fatal to my person, or deprived me of my property, for that many robberies were committed in these parts, and usually accompanied by murder.

This night I lodged in the remains of a bath, which seemed to have pertained to some place of greater note, than the appearance of the adjacent ruins indicated. The Ghilan seid had not joined me in the latter part of the journey, according to a usage observed by us for adjusting the concerns of our evening meal, but more prudently went to Hirroos, where he was well received. Being now habituated to the seid's company,

which



which had become equally amusing and convenient, for even our little disputes had a trifling tendency, I sensibly felt its loss. Though our acquaintance was of such short duration, I already began to esteem this man as a trusty friend; so natural and immediate is the propensity to cleave to what gives us solace, and relieves our anxiety; nor is any object more completely vested with this property than a pleasant companion.

Cordial connections, and the interchange of good offices, no where make a quicker progress than in the course of a journey. Travellers, aware of the approach of a period which is to cause a general, probably a final separation, occupy, to the best advantage, the limited extent of their associations; and as few selfish views have time to spring up, these contingent compacts usually abound in good humour and good faith. In India they have in common circulation, as a sentence expressive of the pleasures arising from cursory societies, and parties casually formed, "Enjoy this meeting as a gift snatched from fate; for the hour of departure stands on your head." Being now about to enter a province different, in its aspect and production, from that of Khorasan, I will here draw the line of division, which may be done with the more propriety at Killausir, as it will also mark the eastern limit of Hazaar Jireeb\*, a small district dependent on Mazanderan.

From Shahroot, the road has nearly a western direction, through a country generally open. Low hills are also seen at wide intervals. The soil is a mixture of sand and earth, and well cultivated as far as the vicinity of Killantau, where the vallies become more contracted, and leave but small spaces for agriculture. The sides of the hills are chiefly appropriated to the pastures of sheep, which are numerous and of an excellent kind.

On the 21st at Challoo, four fursungs, a small open village, on the eastern side of the base of a steep hill, and close on the brink of a rapid stream, which was dashed with a bold and beautiful effect on the rocks that lay thickly scattered in its bed. We had now entered a country overspread with mountains and forests, in which were many oak trees, but their dwarfish appearance shewed that they wanted a kinder soil and climate. At Challoo, the seld largely reaped the fruits of his pilgrimage and his sacred descent. He and consequently his associate, for he never failed to divide with me the good things that fell to his lot, were lodged in a mosque, and hospitably treated by the inhabitants, who supplied us, in the first instance, with great store of fuel, which enabled us to hold out against a heavy storm of snow and a piercing north wind; and without which, indeed, our spacious and airy apartments must have been untenable.

It was with pleasure I again saw an open village; it exhibited a rustic simplicity and a peaceful confidence, which I think could not have existed within a rampart. The inhabitants also, if their kindness to us has not biassed me too much in their favour, seemed to be more civilized and humane than the people of Khorasan. The houses here are built with flat roofs, supported with large beams, which the adjacent forests plentifully supply. A continuance of the storm detained us on the 22d at Challoo, where we found no abatement of the hospitality of the inhabitants, who furnished every thing that could render our situation commodious.

On the 23d, in the morning, our party moved and penetrated through a mountainous country, intersected with rivulets, and closely covered with large trees, which being stripped of their leaves, I could not ascertain the different species, nor could the carriers, whose only knowledge seems to consist in driving horses. Halted, at the distance of five fursungs from Challoo, under some trees, about one hundred yards from

\* Hazaar, in the Persian, signifies a thousand, and jireeb, a measurement of land.